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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2187



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DAILY SAYS CIA SUPPLIES TORTURE TOOLS TO IRAN

AU011328 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 28 Jul 83 p 2

["-Dre"-signed commentary in the "Word on the Day" column: "The Iranian Questionmark"]

[Text] Fighting has been resumed on the Iranian-Iraqi front. Heavy fighting has again flared up after the latest offensive of the Iranian army in the Northwestern border area with Iraq; the Iraqi troops responded to it with a counteroffensive. The reports on the course of the fighting differ quite considerably; however, they indicate that both sides have suffered losses both in human life and in combat technology.

This is how the commentators have been summing up the scant reports on the course of the Iranian-Iraqi war for almost the last 3 years. In fact, the armed conflict between the two countries, which flared up because of a few hundred square kilometers of controversial territory, has been going on for almost as long. Thousands of soldiers have already perished in the senseless war which is exhausting both countries, while at the same time, neither of the fighting sides has so far registered any really significant successes in battle. The only one who can benefit by this regrettable tragedy is American imperialism, which is striving to derive even from this bloody conflict, and from the weakening of both fighting sides, as much as possible for its own interests. True, not only the continuing war with Iraq is playing into the hands of these interests thanks to Iran, but also the persecution to which the figures and members of the Iranian Party of the Masses (Tudeh) have been exposed during the last few months. According to information supplied by the party's representatives who are living abroad, the arrested members of the banned party of Iranian communists are being tortured in prisons with the use of the most sophisticated tools, given to the Iranian security bodies by the American CIA and the Israeli Mossad intelligence service. And at the same time it was the Tudeh party which had been preparing, deep in the underground, the downfall of the hated shah's pro-American regime, and which, from the very first moments, had been supporting the measures carried out by the Iranian revolution in the interests of the broad people's masses.

The continuing exhausting war with Iraq and the persecution of the Iranian communists are objectively weakening the Iranian revolution. In this way, a serious questionmark is hanging over its future.

CSO: 2400/400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### COMMENTARY DISCUSSES THAILAND-PRC RELATIONSHIP

AU021355 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Aug 83 p 6

[Bohuslav Borovicka commentary on the "Note" column: "They Need To Change the Bogey; From our Hanoi Correspondent"]

[Text] There was probably not a week during the last year when Thailand failed to boast of its successes in the "fight against communism." The pro-Maoist so-called Thai Communist Party, which had led an armed fight against the government, has split into several parts due to internal disputes, and after the declaration of the amnesty many of its members surrendered to the authorities.

Soon after "communism was put to an end to" officially and solemnly, the Thai authorities announced that a "new communist movement" had appeared in the country, this time allegedly supported by Vietnam and the Soviet Union. After the first brief reports, extensive articles have already begun to appear in the press; their topics are willingly supplied by the Thai Council of National Security, which describes the danger which this movement signifies for the country's stability and internal security.

On a closer look, this development of events seems neither coincidental, nor unexpected. After the rapprochement between Bangkok and Beijing, it has become rather unseemly for Thailand to blame its friend, and in certain respects also ally, for supporting anti-governmental forces. The solution is obvious, and it even can feed the wolf, while keeping the goat safe and sound. The anti-Vietnamese propaganda gets fresh food, and the changed bogey will provide the same good service for persecuting the progressive forces in the country.

CSO: 2400/399

MINISTER SUMS UP CZECH HARVEST RESULTS TO DATE

AU011120 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jul 83 p 1

[Interview with Vládislav Treska, minister of agriculture and food of the Czech Socialist Republic by Marcela Vanorna: "Moisture Worth as Much as Gold" --place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Everyone can convince himself that, virtually before his very eyes, green meadows have turned into a scorched steppe. The prolonged drought and high temperatures naturally affect the development of all other crops as well. This is disconcerting also for the broad public. We have therefore asked Vládislav Treska, minister of agriculture and food of the Czech Socialist Republic, for a short interview.

[Vanorna] Are some results of the harvest already known?

[Treska] The harvest of winter barley has virtually ended. The fact that the grain is relatively small in size has not affected the result in any substantial way, at least from the viewpoint of the planned tasks. According to preliminary results, the harvest of winter barley in the Czech Socialist Republic averaged 4.35 to 4.4 metric tons per hectare. The harvest of winter rape is also nearing its end. The yields are good, around 2.3 metric tons from each hectare, and there are prerequisites for exceeding the planned market production in all regions.

The harvest of some kinds of fruit has also been completed. As regards gooseberries, a total of 5,734 metric tons were procured, 24.1 percent more than planned (the plan envisaged a procurement of 4,620 metric tons). Cherries have also had good yields. So far, we have procured 11,497 metric tons, 35.8 percent more than the planned 8,460 metric tons. Strawberries yielded 4,236 metric tons, 84.1 percent of the planned 5,034 metric tons.

The harvest of Morello cherries, apricots, and currants is in the final stage. It can be expected that the planned production of fruit for the market in overall terms, will be fulfilled or even overfulfilled.

The drought has caused greater damage to the vegetable growers. The quality of stack vegetables [kostaloviny], for example, has suffered. However, the

greatest and socially most tangible impact on the arid and hot weather has been on the spring crops, which it affected at the time of their full growth and not just at the time of their ripening. The harvest is now running at full speed throughout the Czech Socialist Republic. Winter barley accounts only for a small portion of total grain production. The final assessment of the yearlong work of all growers and the balance sheet of the drought-damage will only be possible after all the grain is delivered to the granaries.

[Vanorna] There are two things to which maximum attention must be devoted--reducing losses and improving the quality of production. How do you assess this year's harvest from this viewpoint?

[Treska] From the viewpoint of losses, it is favorable that the moisture content of the harvested grain averages 11 to 14 percent. This enables a speedier takeover and handling of the grain.

As regards the quality of the grain, what for the food industry's needs has a favorable content of gluten, which ranges between 23 and 36 percent (the procured samples average 28.8 percent). The rape seeds for the production of oil and the leguminous crops reaped so far are also of good quality. The situation in harvesting and procuring malt barley is more complicated. Some fields show a higher [than allowed] content of nitrogenous substances. It is all the more difficult to organize the selection of plots and to draw up exact schedules of harvest and procurement.

CSO: 2400/401



STEPPED UP 'AID' ACTIVITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES REVIEWED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 99, 9 Jul 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Intends To Train More 'Cadres' From the Third World." A translation of the East Berlin HORIZONT interview cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR intends to train still more Third World cadres at its advanced schools and technical and specialized secondary schools. The chairman of the SED central auditing commission and president of the GDR solidarity committee, Kurt Seibt, has told the East Berlin weekly newspaper HORIZONT (Vol. 16, No. 17), which deals with foreign policy, that this form of "solidarity with the developing countries and national liberation movements" is taking up "an ever more expanding position" and that in this way the GDR is also contributing "to a qualified management of the administration and economy, health services, and other spheres of the social life of the countries concerned." According to Seibt's statements, "several thousand" young Africans alone are presently receiving training in the GDR.

From the solidarity fund of the GDR, contributions to which are made particularly by way of donations from the population, means for "supporting the anti-imperialist struggle" have in the first half-year of 1983 been flowing particularly to southern Africa, to central America, to the Near East, and to Southeast Asia. According to Seibt such support, and particularly shipments of solidarity goods, was concentrated on Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as on SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC in South Africa. Support rendered to the PLO includes reception of wounded members of their fighting forces.



## SED Functionary Interview

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 16 No 17 (signed to press 4 July 83) pp 3, 12

[Interview with Kurt Seibt, chairman, SED's Central Auditing Commission; president, Solidarity Committee of GDR: "Solidarity: More Necessary Than Ever in the Struggle for Peace"]

[Text] [Question] The aggressive course followed by the most reactionary circles of imperialism towards confrontation and armament constitutes an attack on the life of all peoples of the world. What contribution is the solidarity committee of the GDR making in the struggle for preserving world peace?

[Answer] What we are presently experiencing is the fact that the most aggressive circles of NATO, and especially U.S. imperialism, are in the most dangerous manner menacing the peace on our planet through their reckless striving for world domination and through their following the course of intensified armament confrontation. Disregarding the lessons of history, Reagan, as was done by others before him, is proclaiming the "crusade against communism," the tools to be used for which, as has been stated, also include many millions of dollars for suppressing the liberation struggles of the peoples in Central America, the Near East, and in the south of Africa, and for the liquidation of the independence of those peoples who have achieved it through hard struggles. For this purpose, the imperialists are arming bands of murderers against Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and other free peoples of Africa, sustain and support the South African racist regime as well as the criminal Zionist adventurers in Tel Aviv, and are paying the murderous forces of the Afghan counterrevolution as well as the criminal Pol Pot clique which has been driven out of Kampuchea.

The antiimperialist solidarity of the GDR has always been an inseparable component part of its struggle for peace and social progress, for freedom from national and social suppression and exploitation, and for the right to life and human dignity. All of the activities of the solidarity committee of the GDR are thus taking their proper place in the great and decisive question of our time -- in the struggle of the peoples of all continents for preserving life on our planet and in the ever broadening struggle for peace.

By supporting the liberation movements in the south of Africa, in the Near East, and in Central America, and by rendering political, diplomatic, moral, and material aid to the liberated states on all continents, the solidarity committee of the GDR is making an important contribution to the struggle for peace and social progress. For, logically, the struggle for strengthening national independence and for setting up a new life of justice and human dignity, and the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa, El Salvador, and Palestine are antiimperialist liberation struggles which objectively coincide with the antiimperialist struggle of the peoples for the preservation of peace and against the war plans of imperialism.

[Question] In many parts of the world the peoples are struggling for their achievement of national and social liberation or for the reinforcement of their

independence and for the establishment of a new social order. What were the focal points of our solidarity's work in the first half-year of 1983?

[Answer] Indeed, the peoples of Africa, Latin America, the Near East, and Southeast Asia are breaking the chains of imperialist subjugation and exploitation, are joining the ranks of the worldwide antiimperialist front, and are relegating imperialist and neocolonialist attempts to turn things around to the rubbish dump of history. We firmly and solidly stand by the side of the peoples engaged in liberation struggles as well as of those which already have thrown off their chains.

In the first half-year of 1983, our special attention in this respect was devoted to the peoples in southern Africa, in Central America, in the Near East, and in Southeast Asia. Examples of this are the Solidarity-with-the-Antiimperialist-Struggle-of-the-African-and-Arab-Peoples-Weeks, as well as the campaign on the occasion of the 65th birthday of Nelson Mandela, who has now been languishing in South African prisons for more than 20 years, and in which we demand that he and all imprisoned patriots be freed.

Furthermore: We have, in conformity with appropriate government agreements and by way of complementing GDR commercial relations, concentrated our efforts in the first half-year of 1983 (thus continuing our activities begun in 1982 and earlier) on putting together solidarity goods for the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Socialist Ethiopia, and People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique.

Also within the framework of government agreements, we participated with solidarity fund means in the establishment of a vocational training center in Jinotepe where, as of 1984, 240 young specialized workers will be trained annually for the Nicaraguan people's economic system. In addition, we are supporting the setting up of a children's home in Managua for children who have become orphans as a result of imperialism's undeclared war against the Sandinista government.

Socialist Ethiopia also ranks high in our solidarity efforts in this half-year period. On the basis of agreements entered into by the governments of our countries, a central workshop for agricultural machinery was presented to it this spring from GDR solidarity resources.

We helped the outpost states in southern Africa and the SWAPO liberation movement in Namibia as well as the ANC liberation movement in South Africa with shipments of medicines, clothing, tents, foodstuffs, and other items.

The Arab people of Palestine and their legitimate representatives, the PLO, as well as the progressive Arab peoples have always had our political, moral, and material solidarity. Wounded Palestinians receive medical care from us, and Palestinian children are enjoying loving care in GDR vacation camps.

These are by far not all the activities of the solidarity committee. It is only possible for me to mention the most important ones here.

[Question] You have already mentioned some states of which it is known that they have followed a course of socialist development after their liberation and which we are supporting. In this respect, what would you refer to as being the most important developments?

[Answer] I have already mentioned such countries as Vietnam, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Angola. We are linked to these countries by common interests, documented through friendship and cooperation pacts. Jointly with them we are strengthening the antiimperialist front for peace and social progress; it is for them that our solidarity support in the struggle for national sovereignty and for a dignified life is intended in particular measure. I would like to emphasize the significant fact that, within the framework of government treaties and commercial agreements, the solidarity committee is rendering effective help in setting up various projects. In addition to the already mentioned projects in Ethiopia or in Nicaragua, I was last year able to present to the miners in Mozambique the cultural and social center for the Moatize mining district, which was established with solidarity funds. The Free German Youth Organization has established a training facility for young technicians in this area. Thus, many GDR and FDJ-brigade specialists, who are justifiably looked upon there as "blue-shirt diplomats," are rendering outstanding services. The solidarity committee of the GDR is also participating in similar projects, including those in Angola, in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and elsewhere.

We consider this form of solidarity services to be particularly important because the needs of the concerned friendly countries are thereby taken into account in the most effective manner and because they are in this way embedded in the plans of these countries' governments for their national economies and for their efforts to have economic independence follow their national independence.

The training in our republic of cadres from developing countries and from national liberation movements is attaining ever greater proportions. Several thousand young people from the African continent alone have received and are still receiving college or vocational training at GDR advanced and vocational schools. Of course, there are also a great many cadres from Vietnam, Laos, Afghanistan, and Cambodia as well as from Arab and Latin American countries pursuing their studies in our country.

This form of solidarity work is gaining ever increasing importance since, after all, we are thereby contributing to the development of a qualified worker reservoir and to a qualified management of the administration and economy, the health services, and of other spheres of the social life of the countries concerned.

[Question] You have so far already mentioned a number of important forms of solidarity work. What additional forms are there which you would consider to be particularly effective?

[Answer] The types of our solidarity work are so manifold and multiform that there is hardly enough room for enumerating them all. The training of specialists and scientists and the support of government agreements with services provided from solidarity resources are no doubt the most effective forms of solidarity work for these countries which are pursuing a socialist course.

For the struggling national liberation movements we provide solidarity help in manifold ways, in addition to our continual political and moral support. We render assistance to the numerous refugee camps for Namibian and south African women and children in Angola, Mozambique, and other countries.

Thus the motor ship "Werner Seelenbinder" carried to Luanda a shipment of 750,000 gift items -- clothing and toys -- which the children of our country had donated via a solidarity drive by the children's magazine "Bummi" under the motto "Our Hearts and Our Help for the Refugee Children of Namibia."

We help with publications of the most diverse types and with scientific examinations for purposes of, among others, exposing the crimes of the racists in the south of Africa, of Israel in the Near East, and of fascist regimes in Latin America.

Our population is solidarily active in manifold ways. In addition to the donations made by the more than 9 million labor union members and the other social organizations of our country, neighborhood committees of the National Front, DFD [Democratic Women's League of Germany] groups, and the Pioneer Organization organized solidarity b-zaars. At the press festivals currently taking place, many impressive solidarity events are being held. Used material is collected and the proceeds therefrom are added to the solidarity account. And many citizens make use of the possibility to pay their solidarity donation directly to the central solidarity account at the National Bank of the GDR, Account No. 444.

Many other such examples could be enumerated. It all adds up to the growing material basis for our antiimperialist solidarity, for which our republic is being esteemed highly in the entire peace-loving world.

[Question] How is the cooperation of the solidarity committee with corresponding U.N. committees and other international boards or organizations shaped?

[Answer] In accordance with the GDR policy for the support of and solidarity with peoples struggling for liberation, which is being advocated energetically by the permanent representative of our republic in the United Nations -- such as, for instance, for the independence of Namibia or for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine -- the relations between our solidarity committee and the UN groups are developing successfully and productively.

Thus we had in the fall of 1978 and this spring occasion to report to the UN special committee against apartheid in New York concerning our activities in support of the struggle against racial discrimination and about our active solidarity with SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC in South Africa. And the fact that at the end of May the chairman of this special committee, the permanent representative of Nigeria at the United Nations, Ambassador Sule, visited our republic and on the occasion of the "Week of Solidarity With the Antiimperialist Struggle of the Peoples of Africa" participated in a solidarity meeting in Leipzig and in a speech referred to the solidarity of the GDR as being an important contribution in the struggle against apartheid and for peace, may no doubt justifiably be assessed by us to be a recognition of the antiimperialist solidarity which is rooted deeply in our people. Ambassador Sule was profoundly



moved by the solidary attitude of the children in the Berlin "Paul-Oesterreich" secondary school.

We are cultivating an active, close, and productive cooperation with the Namibia council and the Palestine committee of the United Nations. Both UN bodies greatly appreciate our solidary cooperation.

We are also actively participating in the work of the international commission for investigation of the crimes committed by Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, founded by AAPSO in 1982, in which connection we are making an internationally recognized contribution to the exposure of the crimes committed by Israel.

UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund with which we are cooperating just as closely, expressed its gratitude to the solidarity committee for our contribution in support of the Angolan children and the Namibian children under SWAPO's care. We will also make our contribution to the assistance projects planned by UNICEF this year for children from Kampuchea.

An important field of action for strengthening the worldwide solidarity front is our active cooperation in the Organization for Afro-Asiatic People's Solidarity (AAPSO), in which we are a member of its permanent secretariat. The solidarity committee of the GDR is keeping up successful cooperation with additional numerous international organizations and solidarity committees in many countries of the world.

[Question] What can the GDR population do in order to impart even greater effectiveness to solidarity -- the life-giving principle among all workers of all countries, as Karl Marx expressed it?

[Answer] The people of the German Democratic Republic know very well what solidarity is able to do. Solidarity -- the firm tie linking together the workers and working people of all countries -- multiplies the forces engaged in the struggle against suppression and exploitation and against war threats and the dangers of war. Solidarity strengthens the worldwide front of the struggle for peace. The working people of our republic and all strata of our people, for whom antiimperialist internationalist solidarity has always been a deeply-felt need, are conscious of their great responsibility for solidary support of the national liberation movements and of those struggling for national independence and social progress. And they are as heretofore continuing to replenish the central solidarity funds of the GDR through their contributions which are being made in manifold ways.

I would on this occasion like to express on behalf of the solidarity committee our cordial thanks to all citizens of our country and to all social organizations for the solidarity which they have shown to date, and I would like to follow this up with an appeal to them to hold high the banner of antiimperialist solidarity also in the future.

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CSO: 2300/336

APPEAL OF RELIGION AMONG YOUTH SEEN GROWING

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 17 Jun 83 p 32

/Article by Klaus Wolschner: "Jena--Herald of a New Germany?--German Democratic Republic at War With Its Peace Movement"/

/Text/ The students in Jena are rioting; a company of artillery was brought in to quiet them down. Riemer read a collection of poems that had been forbidden and thereby had become a cause of or a pretense for the uprising. During the reading, the poems received strong applause, especially because of the talent they revealed; Goethe himself found them good and promised them to me for a quiet evaluation.

Eckermann, Talks with Goethe, Tuesday, 3 December 1822

M. remembers to the letter the words her father spoke to her when, at the age of 22, she let herself be baptized: "Now I no longer have a child." Her mother, too, is a loyal party worker and knows from her small field of activity how the "system" functions, behind the scenes. One thing M. could not understand: why do the parents cooperate? Her father has gone far, he is a well-known Marxist-Leninist in the GDR. His loyalty to the regime is to him just as logical as his preference for consumer goods from the capitalist West. He comes from a worker's family, and because of his ideology he was in a concentration camp during the Hitler regime. His role in the class struggle was to participate in the development of socialism according to the SED motto "Achieve something, then you are something," his political homeland is without question the new Germany of the GDR.

How does a daughter from a home of this kind find her way to the church? M. remembers that as a girl she was "on fire" with enthusiasm for the FDJ. With all of her idealism and moral commitment she worked for the system that seemed to be embodied by her home and society. Whatever contradicted the ideal picture was understandable to her only in terms of mistakes made by individuals.

Her shock came in August 1968: "For 3 days I sat by the radio and wept." She lost her faith in socialism. Three years later she let herself be baptized. As before, her real concern now is to "live out her existence as a human being,"



first of all for herself. In Jena this goal required too much strength from her and therefore she filed for permission to emigrate. Also, she wanted to spare her two children the pattern of premilitary education: pioneers, FDJ.

The break between the generations is a key toward understanding the present development in GDR society. The songwriter Karl Winkler, now 22 years old, who has already spent more than 1 year in prison because of "degradation of socialist order" through his song lyrics and how now lives in West Berlin, has appealed to his parents with the following words in his autobiography "Youth Scenes from East Berlin": "Why don't you finally stop being ashamed for us when you are among your comrades.... We are not just the shavings that drop when you plane wood, we are the generation you will be missing some day. If you don't watch out, you are going to be very lonely."

The Protestant Church has made the break between the generations its topic: at the final rally during the church meeting of Thuringia in the middle of May, Dean Falcke from Erfurt appealed to the generation of parents not to infect their children with the concern for their future. In an address the day before, Joachim Garstecki of the theological faculty stated that it is "one of the greatest deficits of the Christian peace work in the GDR" if action based on commitment is considered a luxury reserved for 15-year old people.

All these independent individuals whose names have come to our attention these days have at one time been members of the FDJ. Their feelings toward the generation that developed the Soviet Occupation Zone into the GDR with its modest level of prosperity can be summed up in the phrase: "This cannot have been everything there is to it."

But what is the difference between Jena and--let us say--Cottbus? The name of the former is connected with the German classics, with Goethe and with the optical precision instruments of the Carl Zeiss Works, the name of the latter with soggy biscuits and the worst smog in the GDR. In Cottbus, too, a handful of young people continued to wear the emblem "Swords into Plowshares" in defiance of the government's quasi-ban against it. Their open and public display of that cheap war toy was for them an attempt to draw attention to the duplicity of official peace education.

Since last winter, nine of them are now in prison with some of them serving sentences of several years; since then the country has been quiet. One person from Cottbus who managed to escape to the West can associate the name of his hometown with only the military airbase, the tank regiment, state police detention and smog. There is no Goethe quotation on Cottbus, but there is one from the SED bezirk secretary who said that the entire country is one social peace service.

#### Death in Prison

Quite different in Jena. Jena is a university town rich in traditions where even industry produces "intelligent products." Even the consistent opponent of the critical "second culture," Mr Bock of the Interior Department, has the reputation of being a state security official who represents the type of rational, superior cynic. Whereas forgetting is elsewhere in the GDR a modern survival technique, the people of Jena remember conscientiously and stubbornly.

Somebody should really write a historical account of the generation of protest and of the youth culture of this town. Arbitrarily, this history could begin on 12 April 1981. One of the young people, who was known to belong to the circles of the "Free Youth Group" and who had for unspecific reasons been taken from a train and arrested, died 2 days later while being held in state security custody at Gera. His parents are loyal to the regime and because the SED put pressure on them, they did not make an effort to clarify the circumstances of his death. This was a cheap reason for the church of Thuringia to stay clear of this matter. There is hardly anybody to whom the "Youth Group" meant something who will ever forget the attitude of the church. The death notices which the young man's friends wanted to put in the papers were forbidden by state censorship; the funeral of Matthias Domaschk was supposed to remain a private affair. Nevertheless, a small group of demonstrators accompanied the coffin. The news of the time for the funeral had spread very quickly. The parents did not want a stone on the grave, but his friends erected a small cross of birch wood into which they carved the word "Matz."

A year later, anniversary death notices passed the censorship of SED bezirk authorities, and these notices were posted all over town but then just as quickly removed from lamp and fence posts by eager civilian party activists. The sculptor Michael Blumhagen carved the figure of a grieving person from a block of stone. On 12 April 1982 this sculpture was placed in the historic Johannis cemetery. Four men--they were seen and photographed--arrived in a red Lada automobile with trailer and took the stone sculpture away. Blumenhagen made an effort to get his sculpture back--and he finally received the strange reply that the sculpture, which weighed several hundred pounds, had been stolen from the town's coffin storage facility.

It was to that extent that bureaucracy had been driven into a corner and had to resort to ridiculous white lies. At the end of the seventies young artists had already tried to cooperate openly and legally with a "Performing Arts Interest Group." The Jena Cultural Council had to approve all events, and when, faced with a somewhat risky talk by Rainer Kirsch, the Council suddenly declared that Kirsch did not want to speak in Jena after all, the Interest Group contacted Kirsch personally and thus greatly embarrassed the Cultural Council administration in front of its own members. The Interest Group was denied access to the "Intelligence Club."

At that time, peace activities took place primarily within the framework of the "Free Youth Group" but more and more the group's activists felt hemmed in by the careful self-censorship on the part of their church leaders. Thus a peace church service planned for 19 March 1982 commemorating the bombing of Jena was canceled the day before at the request of state authorities. On Christmas Eve of last year, when several dozen young people wanted to meet for a minute of silence--as had been publicly announced during the 10-day peace observation in November--they found Jena's "Central Square" blocked off by policemen and government officials.

Later, the press office of the regional church of Thuringia gave Western journalists the following explanation for the attempted quiet peace demonstration: "On 24 December 1982 (Christmas Eve), therefore, there were within the city

limits of Jena no activities outside the churches and church halls for which the church would be responsible." This explanation was given at a time when security authorities arrested, one after another, those who had participated in the attempted minute of silence.

Government reactions eventually brought about the inseparable alliance between the "Youth Group" and the young artists. The most recent wave of arrests began in May 1982 when the sculptor Blumhagen received the sudden, unexpected notice to report to army reserve training exercises. He refused, as he had announced before, to serve in the armed forces and was given 6 months in prison. On 1 September it was Roland Jahn's (born 1953) turn. On 31 August, the anniversary of the official recognition of Solidarity, Jahn rode his bicycle through Jena carrying a Polish flag. His friends call him "Gag" and know countless examples of how this modern-day Till Eulenspiegel accomplishes incredible feats, all within reasonable and legal limits. On 22 March 1983, the former FDJ activist carrying a cardboard sign with the words "Swords into Plowshares--Renounce Force" wanted to join a group of FDJ members demonstrating for peace in Potsdam. He was beaten up, removed from the scene and finally, 18 hours later, brought back to Jena in a state security car.

On 25 September 1982, Manfred Hildebrandt was arrested in Jena. In January 1983 things really began to happen. Former Jena citizens now living in West Berlin could explain what happened only in terms of a general cleanup. Some people in Jena had obviously not taken sufficient notice of the signals of intimidation.

It must remain a matter of speculation whether Western protests were really responsible, especially statements from the unofficial Western peace movement which NEUES DEUTSCHLAND likes to quote. The fact remains that all those arrested were set free by the end of February including those who had already been sentenced in court, like Jahn and Hildebrandt. When those who had been held in detention were released, the authorities, in the vain hope that increased pressure would result in peace and quiet, had pointed out specifically that the cases of these people were not finished. Under the circumstances, some of those released then filed emigration applications. But as a group those involved went one step further. As the "Jena Peace Group," they began to appear in public. On 19 March 1983 they tried to schedule a rally in an orderly manner. On shortterm notice the city then decided to have a memorial erected on "Cosmonaut Square" where a wreath was also laid; therefore the rally of the peace group was not authorized.

The peace group now tried to participate at least in the wreath-laying ceremony carrying their own signs, but they did not have permission and were physically kept away from the ceremony. Pictures of the event were also shown to GDR citizens via West German television, and they gave documentary proof of the power of government peace protectors. In three letters the peace group complained to Honnecker about these incidents and tried to deliver the letters personally to the visitors' office of the State Council chairman.

In Jena's suburb of Neu-Laboda where Trabant cars are produced, members of the peace group wanted to have a neighborhood evening party and for that purpose began laborious negotiations with worried representatives of the neighborhood



council who--established members of church and society--tried to convince these ambitious young people of the advantages of socialism and of the uselessness of this kind of peace group. The regional church, too, has not yet opened its facilities to the peace group.

#### Disturbances at Pentecost

Two days after Pentecost, while the media were just reporting on the Jena citizens who had left the GDR, the peace group asked the FDJ Central Council and the GDR Peace Council for a discussion. On 19 May the speaker at the official Pentecost peace rally in Jena had made reference in an especially noticeable way to the biblical quotation at the Soviet UN memorial "Swords into Plowshares." Within official limitations, to be sure. In any case, the peace group now felt that it was recognized in Jena as a political entity and during the discussion the group was able to speak into the microphone several times. Heckling and disturbances at the fringes of the audience were kept in line by official monitors. "We are aware of the difference of opinions," the peace group wrote to the FDJ and the Peace Council on 24 May, "and we see the absolute necessity of having dialogs." To prove its point the letter mentions the "disturbances created by young people in Potsdam" on Pentecost Sunday: "because only through a combination of all forces, irregardless of their political attitudes and religious confessions can the danger of a third world war that will destroy everything be forever averted from the people."

The letter concludes with the following request: "We are interested in exchanging thoughts on the problems of peace and on this basis we therefore ask for an answer to this letter," and then the letter quotes once again a sentence from a German-speaking program broadcast on 15 May 1982 by the Soviet "Radio Moscow": "The hour demands that all people now beat swords into plowshares."

This request for a discussion was signed by two people as contact persons who also gave their addresses: Roland Jahn and Andreas Friedrich. On Tuesday of last week, Roland Jahn was arrested, taken to the railroad station Probstzella, handcuffed and placed on the rear platform of the last car of the interzone train. West German custom officials had to free Roland Jahn, for the GDR officials had locked their doors.

This expatriation, unique in its violent form, of a man who did not want to leave the country only demonstrates the difficult position in which the authorities see themselves. This arbitrary action was protested by spontaneously signed petitions in several GDR cities. Rather helpless appeared the government's attempt to soften reactions against the enforced expatriation by temporarily detaining the other signer of the letter, Andreas Friedrich. One day after Jahn's expatriation the Jena Peace Group sent a strong letter of protest with a number of signatures to the GDR State Council in East Berlin. Roland Jahn himself is convinced that this "act of expatriation caused by the government's inability to hold discussions" will motivate more GDR citizens to break their silence than authorities will ever be able to expatriate. "The peace group will continue." He requests that the GDR rescind his enforced expatriation.

It will be interesting to see what future events will take place in connection with the Jena Peace Group. Jena seems to have become the omen of a really "new Germany" in GDR society.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'DRESDEN CHURCH DAY' DEBATES, JENA PACIFISTS' ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

'Peace Education,' Environment Debates

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 12 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum: "Church Day Reprieve for Illegal Parking and Peace Movement--Dresden Debates on Justified and Unjustified Deployment of Rockets, on Environment and the Limits of What's Possible in the GDR"]

[Text] "Well, the first thing you ought to know is that nothing exists in the GDR that doesn't exist. I've been careful about making generalizations for a long time now." This bit of catch-up tutoring on matters of the GDR was offered by the former bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg and ex-chairman of the GDR Church Confederation, Albrecht Schienherr, during the lay convention of the Saxon and Goerlitz regional churches last weekend in Dresden. He was responding to a British visitor in the working group "Christians and the Others," who had asked what pressures the relationship between the church and the school was subject to.

Schoenherr was quick with an example: in many cities the school authorities had scheduled special events, apparently so that young people would have something planned for their free time instead of attending the Church Day conference of lay people. Yet there were also schools, said Schoenherr, which dismissed classes for the the duration of the lay conference.

Schoenherr's hypothesis also holds true for the activity of Christian peace groups in the GDR. While one group of Christian young people reported having been forced away by SED marshalls during a peace demonstration at the Rostock Church Day, another such group from Zittau reported in Dresden that a Whitsun demonstration on the same date, they were allowed to participate as an "official block" with their own, not previously sanctioned, banners, although they did march behind the official demonstration column. The banners bore slogans that had not till then been given approval at any official demonstration: "War Toys? Parents Must Answer for Their Children"--"For Peace Education in the Schools"--"For a True Peace, Not an Armed Peace in East and West"--"Make Peace Against Weapons" (at the head of the column were FDJ groups with the slogan "Make Peace Against NATO Weapons").

And Schoenherr's hypothesis held true for the Dresden Church Day itself, the sixth of a total of seven to take place this year in the GDR. The possibility that there would ever be a lay convention with so many participants--estimates of attendance ran between 80,000 and 120,000--would have been inconceivable only a few years ago.

There has not been a church gathering on this scale in the GDR since 1954, when the last all-German lay conference brought 600,000 participants together in Leipzig. Now, the 5th centennial of Luther's birth and the revised Luther image put forward by the GDR has made it possible. On Sunday afternoon the streets of downtown Dresden looked abandoned; the streetcars were without passengers.

Johannes Cieslak, president of the Saxon Regional Synod and chief organizer of the lay conference, spoke to journalists of "a medium-sized miracle." What he meant was that the state had leapt over its own shadow. The church had found support "such as never before."

Other visitors, many of them from points far distant, took the same impression: from the provision of portable toilets to the availability of exhibition halls, well functioning catering arrangements to the posting of placards on sidewalk poster columns. The security authorities had even allowed posters to be printed and pasted up without having to be approved in advance--something which simply doesn't happen in the GDR.

Of course, the church was reminded now and then that there were laws in the GDR that had to be adhered to. Thus the church officials in charge of the conference took steps to halt anything that they themselves had not got permission for in advance, even against the distribution of an old number of a church periodical containing an article on homosexuals.

The rumor quickly spread that the State Security Service had intervened. Yet Cieslak gave assurances that this was the action of the churchman responsible for the conference. Western journalists were quick to remark of "ecclesiastical self-censorship," probably having forgotten that the GDR does not exactly lie within the West.

The security authorities were remarkably restrained in other respects as well. The police did not intervene when young people, in the middle of the night, sprang into the fountains on the Prager Strasse, an event inconceivable under "normal" circumstances in the GDR. One conference participant told of his having inadvertently driven through a red light and receiving only a fine of 10 East German marks for the offense. The policeman added: "Because this is Church Day." "Church Day discount," remarked the lucky visitor.

The GDR had never before witnessed discussion of environmental issues on the order of what came forward in Dresden. It came to light that not far from the city the vegetables in local gardens had been ruined by the discharge from a lead processing plant. One deacon from a village in the district of Leipzig reported that air pollution there was so severe that children less than a year old were already suffering from bronchial asthma, that neither birches nor poplars would grow there any longer and that what leafy plants remained were evidencing rolled-up leaves. "When the wind blows from the southwest, we get it thick as soup and the people say that the shit has fallen."

The major event focussing on environmental protection took place at the Kreuzkirche in Dresden where, on Sunday morning more than a thousand mostly young people gathered under a huge green cross made of lettuce plants. One woman from the south of Saxony reported: "There is no such thing as the clean



Erzgebirge any longer. The forest no longer murmur. The trees have no needles any more. A walk through the forests no longer means recreation but fear and terror." The remark was also overheard at the Kreuzkirche that it said something for a society when well-being was measured in terms of the number of color TV sets and not the number of clean streams.

Environmental issues took top priority at the Dresden conference over what is usually the focus at church-sponsored events: the church's commitment to peace. That the two issues are related was nonetheless made clear by the conference under the theme of "Our Grandchildren Want to Live Too." One placard read "The First Commandment of Environmental Protection: Disarm!"

Still, the questions of peace were certainly taken seriously. At the bishops' forum, the Regional Bishop of Saxony and chairman of the GDR Church Confederation, Johannes Hempel, spoke on the theme that the church could no longer adhere to the doctrine of a just or an unjust war. At another event in the Luther-Kirche, the question was raised as to whether there were good and bad missiles. It was there that the church superintendent of Berlin, Guenter Krusche, remarked: "What good is it if we are in the right, if the whole world is destroyed along with us?"

Also clear at Dresden was something that had marked earlier lay conferences: the concern that continued worsening of the international political situation could bring about limitations on the latitudes available for church activities as well as substantial burdens for the entire population.

One peace group from the Elbe town of Riesa donned violet neckerchiefs of a particular hue so as to demonstrate their solidarity with those people who expressed their commitment to peace at the lay conference at Hannover in the FRG. The lay conference at Hannover played still another role. It was clear that those responsible for the conference were extremely proud that the Saxon and Goerlitz dioceses had been able to assemble just about as many people at their closing ceremonies in Dresden as did the churches of the Federal Republic at Hannover.

The mood at Dresden was a cheerful and relaxed one, even though the issues were discussed with genuine earnestness. Granted that the consistorial president of the Berlin-Brandenburg diocese, Manfred Stolpe, openly expressed his concern that in the discussion of many issues, the limits of what is possible in the GDR had been reached. Even though he did not make an explicit statement, his concern was unmistakable that, should this undefined line be crossed by the church, there was something in the GDR that might no longer exist or be allowed only within limits: the broad spectrum of church activities. In this regard the churches in the GDR are, in any case, carrying out a tightrope walk between their willingness to be "the church for the others" and the danger of becoming "the church of the others," such as those who seek to emigrate or those in opposition.

### Expelled Dissidents' Activities

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 12 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Otto Joerg Weis, datelined 'Berlin': "German Border Crossers in Favor of Disarmament in East and West--Expatriated Members of Jena Peace Groups: Not Silent in West Berlin Either"]

[Text] How did it all begin? Perhaps in the fall of 1976 when the balladeer Wolf Biermann was deviously deprived of his citizenship by GDR authorities, or when the protestant youth deacon Thomas Auerbach and Juergen Fuchs, a member of the Havemann circle, both from Jena, were arrested and later deported, or when the economics student Roland Jahn was sent down from the university and demoted to laborer for having protested Biermann's loss of citizenship. Or maybe 5 years later when, in April 1981, the 24-year old Matthias Domaschk died under mysterious circumstances during a police interrogation, or when later his friend Michael Blumhagen fell between the millstones of the GDR bureaucracy for having erected a monument to the dead man. It might have been at any of these times that the 25-year old lathe operator Manfred Hildebrand, after having searched his own conscience, came to the point of commitment to pacifism. For many of their elders it may have begun with the events in Prague of 1968, or perhaps for all of them it might simply have been the sum of daily irritation, the militarization of daily life in the GDR where for children "war toys are really the only thing that can be bought cheaply," as Dorothea Rost, a nurse from Jena, put it.

One has got to put together individually the bits and pieces of the mosaic that comprises the peace movement in Jena. Between the early expulsion of Auerbach and the arrest and deportation of Jahn there lie 7 years of differing experience, including the relatively acceptable arrangement between the church and the state that was worked out during the late 1970's in the GDR. These 7 years also include the evolution of peace groups generally on the fringe of approved ecclesiastical peace activity: in East Berlin, Rostock, Dresden, Halle, Weimar, Schwerin, Cottbus, Suhl. Many hopes were raised during these 7 years after SED chief Erich Honecker and his party press began their repeated and high-flown praise of the peace movements--so long as they were in the West. Finally too, there is the bitterness at the continued arrests, penal sentences and deportations of friends from among one's immediate or more distant circle of acquaintances. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in West Berlin, where most of the political exiles from Jena have settled. Auerbach in the district of Zehlendorf, Fuchs in Tempelhof, Blumhagen in Kreuzberg, where Jahn, the most recently expelled, found a place to stay a few weeks ago.

Some 20 fathers, mothers and children arrived at one stroke from Jena shortly before Whitsunday. Things had finally come to a head in the small GDR town, after a public moment of silence for peace on Christmas eve of last year, after a wave of arrests this past February, further repressive measures in March and an international discussion of the events in Jena which was an evident bone in the throat of GDR leaders who are notoriously concerned about their international reputation. It was almost incredible that in a state where "law and order prevails" (as remarked by the deputy mayor of Rostock to a GDR peace group), a figure like Roland Jahn "character who just does what he feels

like doing" (according to his friends), could hold his own for so long a time.

Nevertheless, on 1 May of last year, the 29-year old Jahn took up a post alongside the Labor Day parade, one half of his face made up in brown, the other half in red; on the one side of his face a Hitler forelock, on the other a Stalin moustache. In late August 1982 he rode through the streets of Jena on his bike with a "Solidarnosc" banner bearing the ambivalent slogan "Solidarity with the Polish People;" at an officially organized FDJ peace demonstration he even succeeded in getting hold of the official demonstration microphone for a few remarks of his own.

The colony of former residents of Jena in West Berlin is estimated to number about 100, of whom about half are from the narrower circle of friends involved in that town's peace movement. Of those who were deported a number of years ago, most would prefer to return home as soon as they can, most particularly those most recently expelled such as the precision instrument maker and balladeer, Peter Kaehler who, in his own words, is still in his own heart at home with his friends in the GDR. Applications for denaturalization, usually with the officially required non-political justifications, had been submitted by the exiles who found themselves under a Damoclean sword--their alternative was long prison sentences.

Even Jahn, who offered such vigorous resistance to his deportation just a few weeks ago, who was regularly harrassed in Jena, arrested and packed off by force--even this genuinely "unaccommodated" 29-year old man, though under the pressure of circumstances of "real socialism" did not want, a few months ago, to exclude the possibility of being ultimately willing to leave the country. It was apparent then that the GDR authorities turned this to their own advantage, having prepared his denaturalization papers and handing them over to him with the explanation that it was now simply too late to reverse the entire procedure. Jahn's defiant statement, "I see my ideas closer to realization in the GDR than here. I want to go back!" seems almost an echo of Biermann's words of 1976. Seven years have passed since then and, apart from the officially sanctioned visit to Robert Havemann's funeral, nothing has come of his wish to return.

The expectation on the part of GDR leaders which may lie at the bottom of the recent wave of expulsions that this might lead to the silencing of those persons calling for concrete steps toward peace, is not shared by those in exile in West Berlin, despite many unmistakeable misgivings. Jena is, after all, not the only site of public demonstrations and Peter Roesch, one of the deportees, stated, "If they think that that's going to calm things down, they're mistaken." The police in Jena, scarcely had they reached the conclusion that the peace scene had been "cleaned up," were soon after obliged to detain temporarily two dozen young people who were not willing to accept the spectacular deportation of Jahn without protest. All of them were said to have since been released. Former Jena resident Michael Blumhagen expressed the hope in a newspaper interview: "For each one that leaves, there are three who carry on."

The deportees have already begun some hard thinking about the new realities they face in the West. It is no secret to the elders among them that things are no easier here for the small troop of German border crossers in the cause of peace. "When people crossed over earlier," said one of the original group from Jena,

"back then when Olaf Sund was still a member of the city council, were able to get help, not with a lot of noise but certainly effectively. Now, though the city government is willing to make a lot of lofty statements, they let us beat our heads against the walls of every kind of bureaucratic obstacle." The most recently arrived peace activists, now compulsory West Berliners, have not been moved from their original high hopes for peace expressed in such forms as the recent simultaneous evangelical laymen's conference in Hannover and a regional GDR laymen's conference in Rostock. Even after their removal to West Berlin, they will not abandon their role as a minority. If, as the time grows nearer for the implementation of the NATO double decision, the "heroic peace activists from Jena" were to become "Moscow-controlled communists" in the eyes of many West German politicians, this would come as no surprise to the persons so banded, since, "There is a mechanism behind all this, it's the same on both sides!"

In this respect, it was a very deliberate move on the part of the more committed members of the group expelled from Jena when they made it demonstratively clear following the most recent wave of expulsions, that they would not look to evade the difficulties involved in the search for peace even in this half of Germany. Dozens of them have stated openly, "We were committed in our own country to disarmament in both East and West and we will do the same thing here . . . We do not approve of the deployment of weapons aimed at people who, at the risk of their own lives, are fighting against similar weapons systems in their own countries." The signers of this declaration have shown their determination by the fact of their willingness to have put their own freedom on the line even in the GDR. The same kind of resolution will be seen in their participation in the protests scheduled for the coming "Missile Autumn" in West Germany. One of them conjectured, "It's going to be awfully difficult."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ACTIVITIES OF ENVIRONMENTALIST MOVEMENT REPORTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 30, 1983, pp 71-72

['GDR' feature article: "Fear in the Forest--Greens Groups Will No Longer Passively Watch the Destruction of the Environment in the GDR"]

[Text] The village of Moelbis numbers 500 inhabitants, lies in the brown-coal district south of Leipzig, and is past saving.

Deacon Siegfried Rueffert reports that parsley no longer grows in the gardens, other greens are wasting away with curled-up leaves, and birches and poplars have died out. Moelbis lives in a cloud of dust: Whenever someone removes a sheet of paper from his desk, he sees a black border. In the vernacular: "It has gotten filthy here."

But that is not yet the worst of it. Rueffert: "When there is a southwest wind, the gas comes." Then the Moelbis residents no longer even dare to open their windows. Visitors who are not accustomed to the stench are racked with headaches or get sick to their stomachs. And babies only 6 months old are already suffering from bronchial asthma.

The churchman has raised his complaint in public, an act uncommon in the GDR. At the Dresden Lay Conference of Lutheran Saxons at the beginning of July, GDR citizens on the committee "Our Grandchildren Also Want to Live" reported on filth and stench, dead forests and dead bodies of water.

The Protestant Dorothea Kutter from the Erz Mountains village of Satzung relates that "no longer are we permitted to eat the fruit which we ourselves pick." She said that the northern Bohemian coal-fired power plants have polluted the air in that locality on the Czech border to such an extent that many residents have been suffering from shortness of breath or eczemas, circulatory complaints or bouts of depression.

She said that the once-clean Erz Mountains, a popular excursion spot for residents of Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt, are now spoiled, and a walk through the forest "no longer means relaxation, but fear and alarm." Dorothea Kutter: "The forests no longer rustle, because they no longer have any needles left."

GDR surveys have established that in five densely populated areas the destruction of the environment is far advanced: In the bezirks of Halle, Leipzig, Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Berlin, where more than half of the industrial goods are produced. The top polluter is sulfur dioxide, which is generated in the processing of the most important domestic source of energy, brown coal. Researchers at the West Berlin Free University have calculated that the pollution load of the air in the districts of Halle, Leipzig, and Zwickau is "more than twice as high" as in Chicago, Tokyo, or Duesseldorf.

Relief is not in sight. It is true that in 1970 the GDR government issued strict regulations for the protection of the environment, with its environmental control law. It is true that according to Article 15 of the GDR's Constitution, the State and society are committed to the protection of nature. Nevertheless the sinners against the environment in the state-owned enterprises would rather pay fines than diminish the profitability of their firms through capital expenditures for filters and sewage treatment plants. And the State does not have the money for expensive ecology-related technology.

Moreover, the GDR leadership continues to place its hopes in a stepped-up growth for the economy (for the first 6 months of 1983: 4 percent; in 1982: 3 percent). Specific environmental programs which had been announced at the beginning of the 1970's have disappeared from the 5-year plans.

Therefore the people affected are resorting to self-help. Ecological awareness is spreading within the GDR. The first move had been made at the end of the 1970's by the Protestant Church. A study on the "responsibility of Christians in a socialist society for the environment and the future of mankind," submitted at the Boston Conference of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, called on Protestants to engage in a public discussion on the environmental crisis.

It is true that according to this paper the churches did not have many alternatives for influencing the governmental decision-making process. Nevertheless the faithful should ponder, for the time being in small groups, over a new way of living and should try "to secure majorities for its views in the process of shaping public opinion."

The response came promptly. In 1979 a regional synod at Mecklenburgian Schwerin had a discussion for the first time on the risks of nuclear power. In some parishes, groups of active environmentalists formed.

These groups--such as the ones at Rostock, Schwerin, or Neustrelitz, for example--swarmed out in order to beautify their communities with newly planted trees and shrubbery. In Saalfeld and elsewhere, young Christians mounted their bicycles and demonstrated, with their motto being: "Be mobile without automobiles."

Since then, annual tree-planting actions and cyclist actions have been a part of standing programs in many church parishes. Meanwhile, the environmentalists are demonstrating no longer merely in favor of an unpolluted countryside, but also against governmental planning.



Thus, on 5 June, the international day of the environment, almost 200 Halle residents got on their bicycles in order to protest against the Buna Chemical Works. Their demand: "Clean air for us and our children." But the demonstrators, some wearing gas masks, did not get far: While still within the city zone, they were stopped by security agents and given fines.

Things did not go much better for a group in Schwerin. On the same day they wanted to express in a bicycle caravan their disapproval of the construction of a motorway to Wismar, which was to run through the middle of a protected countryside area. But the authorities had reacted promptly. They had signs put up along the routes: "Forbidden to Bicyclists on 4 and 5 June." Most of the protesters gave up, and only a few came on foot.

But the environmentalists are not letting themselves be intimidated. Under the protection of the Church, numerous action groups have been formed, and this year, at the six regional lay conferences held hitherto, these have gone out to the public with information booths and tangible demands.

The Protestant meeting in Dresden marked a temporary high point. There the environmental groups drew far larger audiences than the peace circles. In the Church of the Holy Cross more than a thousand of the faithful, seated beneath an enormous green cross made up of heads of lettuce, applauded a talk presented by the ecological working group of the Dresden Church districts.

The charge is that the sulfur-dioxide concentration in the GDR's air has far exceeded the legally permissible limits. It was said that schoolchildren in the area of Halle are affected twice as frequently by bronchial illnesses as their peers elsewhere, and in some places the ground water has been contaminated so badly by nitrate fertilizer that it is no longer suited for purification into drinking water.

The environmentalists carried banners publicizing "ecology before economy" and "reverence for the living," and demanded renunciation from the citizens of this socialism of affluence: "Consumption costs lives." The followers of the green cross asked for something unheard-of from the State: It should allow a "broad discussion," because information is the "indispensable prerequisite" for jointly solving problems.

There is where the hitch lies. According to the criticism, in the GDR very few current figures can be obtained on the destruction of the environment, and often publications of such figures have even been banned. One participant: "The truth is being withheld from the citizens."

An unofficial movement of Greens in the GDR is still out of the question. But it must alarm the SED that there as well ecologists and peace groups are coming together in their demands--Ecology-Peace (East). The inscription on a banner at the Church of the Holy Cross: "First Law of Environmental Protection: Disarm."

Volker Nollau, instructor at the Dresden Technical University and a synod member from Saxony, spoke in even plainer terms before an audience of many

hundreds of people at the Church of the Apostles: According to Nollau, environmental protection makes sense only "when the concept of nuclear deterrence through possible mutual destruction is abandoned; when a concept is abandoned which contemplates the sudden annihilation of the entire ecological structure--at least of our continent--which contemplates the annihilation of human life on such a scale that the horrors of the Auschwitz 'death factories' would pale by comparison."

Already the church superiors are starting to dampen again the commitment which they themselves have fired up--they want to make sure of the survival of the Church under socialism instead of its going to ruin as an opposition party.

With a glance at the peace groups, the Berlin consistorial president Manfred Stolpe warned that the parishes must not turn into "offices for the opposition." And the president designate of the Saxony regional synod, Rainer Gaebler, placated the eavesdroppers from the SED in the Church of the Holy Cross: "The State should know that when critical words are uttered here they are said in its interests as well. We are all in the same boat."

The Christian Greens craftily quote even from the father of socialism in order to demonstrate their will to cooperate. In lectures and on program sheets they cite the environmentalist Karl Marx: "Even an entire society, a nation, indeed all the societies taken together at the same time, are not owners of the earth. They are only its tenants, its usufructaries, and as *boni patres familias* (good housefathers) they have a duty to pass it on in an improved condition to the succeeding generations."

The SED socialists are in a tight spot. On the one hand, they cannot look on passively when even the ecology freaks join the unofficial peace groups in their demand for discussion and participation in decision making.

On the other hand, the SED cannot dismiss the Christian demands, since after all it itself is promoting the preservation of nature. In the official party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Minister for Environmental Protection and Water Management Hans Reichelt even expressly called on the East Germans to cooperate: "The utilization of the resources of nature, the active shaping of environmental conditions under socialism, are matters touching the interests of every citizen."

But for now the SED has a fear of touching. Two prominent scientists from the Central Institute for Philosophy at the East Berlin Academy of Sciences, Horst Paucke and Adolf Bauer, had accepted an invitation to appear in Dresden for the discussion with the Christian ecologists. Both of them were absent without an excuse: The SED leadership had brought them back into line.

KADAR RECEIVES ORDER OF LENIN

LD201911 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 20 Jul 83

[Text] Moscow, July 20 (MTI)--Wednesday afternoon Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, conferred on Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, the Order of Lenin in a festive event of intimate and cordial atmosphere. The high distinction has recently been awarded to Janos Kadar by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union.

The ceremony took place in the red hall of the Great Palace of the Kremlin. Present were all members of the Janos Kadar-led Hungarian party and government delegation. On the Soviet side present were: First Deputy Prime Minister Geydar Aliyev, CPSU CC Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, CPSU CC Secretary Grigoriy Romanov, Defence Minister Dmitriy Ustinov--members of the Political Committee--CPSU CC Secretary Vladimir Dolgikh and Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of RSFSR--alternate members of the Political Committee--and CPSU CC Secretaries Nikolai Ryzhkov, Konstantin Rusakov and Mikhail Zimyanin.

On receiving the high distinction Janos Kadar was warmly greeted by Yuriy Andropov.

Janos Kadar expressed heartfelt thanks to the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union for the Order of Lenin, this high distinction.

"When this decoration is conferred on me I regard it as an honour addressed to each Hungarian communist, all my compatriots committed to Hungarian-Soviet friendship.

"The name of this high distinction reminds me of great Lenin and his companions-in-arms who in 1917 secured the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which opened a new chapter in human history. It reminds me of Hungarian internationalists who founded our historical friendship. For me and my contemporaries in Hungary, Hungarian-Soviet friendship and cooperation and that we know that the Hungarian and the

Soviet peoples follow the same road, that of socialism, and struggle side by side to create a better, free and peaceful world, are an invaluable source of energy."

Addressing his words to Yuriy Andropov, Janos Kadar said:

"I am pleased to receive this honour from your [word indistinct] personal acquaintance and close friend of old, here in Moscow, the famed capital of great Soviet Union. Let me assure you and our other Soviet friends that I--together with my compatriots for whom the wellbeing of the Hungarian people is dear--will continue to do everything in my power to promote our friendship and cooperation."

Finally, Janos Kadar wished good health and success to Yuriy Andropov and his colleagues in their efforts to serve the wellbeing of the Soviet people and promotion of universal historical progress, preservation and consolidation of peace.

CSO: 2500/383



BOOK ON HUNGARIAN LITERATURE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA BREAKS NEW GROUND

Debrecen ALFOLD in Hungarian Jul 1983 pp 71-77

[Review by Miklos Beladi of the book: "Hungarian Literature in Czechoslovakia: 1945-1980"]

[Text] Andras Gorombel has written the history of the entire era of an ethnic-national literature; a literature which for quite a long time has not fulfilled an important role among the Hungarian literature outside the borders but which we must be acquainted with just as with the one in Transylvania, more rich in traditions, the independent existence of which was established earlier, and which had more far-reaching results, or the one in Yugoslavia which is more advanced in European orientation. In discussing treatises and monographs, and elaborating on this type of enormous material, it is customary to recall with praise the size of the undertaking and the difficulties derived from it. The work of Andras Gorombel especially, demands it from the reader: the size and proportions of the essay alone can induce a person to appreciate it. Moreover, the fact itself can be appreciated that the work has been done because it has been completed as a first: the history of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia, after 1945, has not as yet been written by literary historians living there, in detail, with thoroughness and with demanding scholarship comparable to this one. One of the best books born there, the literary-historical summary by Lajos Turczel: "At the Border of Two Epochs" only discusses the period between 1918-1938. Similarly, the work by Sandor Csanda entitled "First Generation" also surveys the period between the two wars; and his essays, criticisms and commentaries published under the title: "Third Generation" do not provide an overall picture of the literature after 1945. Disregarding, at this time, many noteworthy partial studies, we can give recognition to Andras Gorombel for having undertaken the task to sketch a complete picture of literary history and to write a long-needed historical survey in the form of longitudinal profile summaries, process sketches and portraits of writers. He relied on many partial analyses, essays and critical works and yet he produced fundamental work by completing the complex task of selection, systematization and evaluation. The work of Andras Gorombel can justly be viewed as trail blazing.

For a very long time, for nearly two decades until the early 1960s, the post-1945 Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia hardly produced literary values past the provincial-type publications. The years between 1945 and 1948 were years of silence and when the writers finally started to speak, in their works they

could not mention either openly or even vaguely the nationality problems which were precisely the problems most deeply affecting their lives as authors. Instead, as a form of social and political compensation, they strived to balance and to resolve their feelings of social inferiority. Frequently, they had to assume the role of outbidders. An adoption of the slogans of schematic literature and dogmatic thinking offered to them the illusion of the attainability of social equality. A weak literary institutional system was available to them. They were able to found their only periodical very late, only in 1958. There was no demanding, organizational literary center active among them, they could not enjoy the support of traditions and neither were they bound to the literature of Hungary through a lively, fertile relationship. They were also isolated from this possibility of inspiration. Without underestimating the role and effect of the presence of the Hungarian tongue, what culture in the mother tongue and, in general, the existence of the mother tongue can mean in the framework of ethnic life, we have to share the severe judgment of the author. For a long time, only mediocre books were born from the pens of Hungarian writers in Czechoslovakia. Literature measured by higher esthetic norms was non-existent among them. Criticism to shape public opinion, and history and theory of literature, to refine literary consciousness were lacking. With ardent tones and narrow views, the books described a narrow world. The earlier consciousness of the border region, evident between the two world wars faded. The border region declined into provinces, it narrowed into an intellectually deprived, unassuming small world.

Andras Gorombel, the literature historian, was in a truly difficult situation because of the facts mentioned. Both scientifically and morally. What can the scholar of literature do at a time like this? He must acknowledge the historical situation, must see the facts and possibilities, but also the works which were born under these restrictive and paralyzing conditions. Of course, he could have easily written off the products before 1958 or 1963. No great literature or outstanding value was created, he could have excluded this period from the scope of his studies. Scholarship need not be interested in the rudimentary, in literature which is clumsy and actually speaks against itself, in the mass of well-intentioned but worthless writings which can be handled merely as documents. He could have begun the history of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia in the early 1960s, thereby he would have been relieved from sketching a complete picture of the period, however briefly.

Of Viktor Egri, Bela Szabo, Iboly L. Kiss, Vilmos Csontos; he would not have had to analyze the start of the career, and the activities during the 1940s and 1950s of these writers belonging to the first generation of the third flowering. The first period of Tibor Babi, Arpad Czsvald, Jozsef Macs, Gyorgy Denes, Elemer Torok, Janos Veres, Istvan Gyurcso, Olga Galy, Jozsef Zala, Bela Lovicsek and Balint Petroczi he could have discussed even more briefly, just in passing, putting more emphasis on what these writers created from the early 1960s on.

Gorombel did not choose this course but rather the one which was methodologically inevitable. He sketched the antecedents, discussed in sufficient detail the period of civil rights deprivation and the new start, and he also described the career of the writers known at the time. He had to take this methodological course because thereby he truly faced his subject. He saw it as its low point,

struggling under the burden of compensational schematicism, and he saw it in rising, arriving in a period of value production. Thereby he could estimate, together with its mediocrities, the unprecedented efforts of this literature. But he did this in such a manner as to distance himself from poor works, he did not become the applauder of provincialism. In his analyses, he strived to point out the esthetically poor works and also the world concepts which caused the low standard. He prepared not only a list or catalogue of schematicism, but also attempted to explain the social precipitant, the ideological and psychological inducer of the simplified literature.

Thus, both understanding and judgment were guiding the train of thought of his literature history. The pen of Andras Gorombel was guided by understanding because he clearly saw under what circumstances this literature existed but, nevertheless, he did not shrink back from using the literary-historical value standard. His analyses are frank and objective. When it was needed, he severely criticized works, career phases and writers. He did not get into a state of scholarly schizophrenia because of this. He viewed his subject not separate from time but in a historical context, in a continuum in the direction of unfolding. This alone could also have been the only possible way to resolve the dilemma of literature-historical "double standard." In essays on Hungarian language literatures abroad, we could often encounter the use of "double standards." We often used different norms to judge the literature produced in Hungary and across the border. There could have been moments when this protective-supportive separate measure was justified, although with only partial validity even then. During the period between the two wars, Mihaly Babits and Laszlo Nemeth did not handle Transylvanian literature as a separate entity. They did not apply separate standards and thereby they did not hurt anyone. Today there is no need at all to function with two standards. Not to do it, is demanded from us by the quality principle of our branch of specialty but also by the literatures across our borders which are justly sensitive about their own autonomy. Whether we want it or not, a double standard carries with it the sense of, the memory of and the bad tradition of a superior and inferior relationship. Occasionally, it even carries with it the use of national-linguistic view as a basic criterium and standard of value. If the writing of literature history wants to leave the domain of manufacturing descriptive-type catalogues of writers, it can do so in only one way, if it integrates within itself the results of literature theory and esthetics and seeks a pay-off of what is of general significance in the reality of the works and processes. The extent to which it is able to translate the meta-language of literature theory into the spoken language of literature, is the measure of the success of literary historiography in renewing itself. Theory and historiography have to get increasingly closer to each other. In this manner, even the descriptive, narrative part, which is unavoidable in literary history, can attain significance over and above its merely informative role.

By striving for completeness in providing a survey of the period, Andras Gorombel assumed more than ordinary burdens. It is general knowledge that the writing of literary history can elevate itself above the--by and large unnecessary, futile and outdated--description of a positivist subject- (work-) catalogue not only through its methodology, but at least by as much also through the analysis of great literature and great works. An esthetically valuable creative work not



only makes the many-sided approach possible but also demands it, while the dull, characterless, less valuable work forces the interpreter, in part, to its own level which will unavoidably hurt the writer of literature history. Unfortunately, Andras Gorombel is also hurt this way, in some places. He was forced to analyze weak works, not 1 or 2, but many. The early works of Viktor Egri, Bela Szabo, Tibor Babi, and Arpad Ozsvald--further names could be listed. In sketching these portraits and writer careers, types of observations and judgments are continuously popping up such as: artistically weak, esthetically almost without quality, naively didactic, oriented toward aprioristic conceptions, etc. Part of the judgments refers to schematism but the other part refers simply to the limitations and scarcity of talent as a writer. Instead of several, it will suffice to quote a single example from the book: "Viktor Egri is the best drama writer of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia, but this qualification merely represents very relative values because, in the history of this literature encompassing more than half a century, there was not a single drama created which would prove noteworthy also according to the standards of universal Hungarian literature." This by itself indicates that Andras Gorombel started from a disadvantageous position when he also undertook to write the literary history of the lean years. He also became bogged down by the subject. Part of his portraits does not progress past the descriptive whether it involves a novel, short story, drama or poem. There is hardly room for a true analysis of the work if the subject is within narrow limits, hardly differs from instructive journalism, is lacking ideas, is composed of linguistic stereotypes, synonyms and so forth. It is clearly visible that the author strives to provide an objective report, as far as possible, of the literature which once enjoyed critical recognition. He does not allow himself to be carried away by hypocritical impulses but would rather describe some works in detail in order to be able to produce his severe judgment based on it. This is understandable and estimable, but this striving for completeness was accompanied by an excessive length of some portraits while the description of works often got stuck by the description of contents. There is a sharp distinction between the portrait and career description of Viktor Egri, Bela Szabo, Ibolya L. Kiss, Tibor Babi and Arpad Ozsvald, and what we can read in part 2 about Laszlo Dobos, Gyula Duba, Laszlo Cselenyi or the work of those starting their career.

The portraits introducing Laszlo Dobos, Gyula Duba, Arpad Tozser, Laszlo Cselenyi, Lajos Zs. Nagy and Sandor Gal are among the most successful chapters of the book. The analysis of the works by Gyula Duba; the introduction of the novems by Laszlo Dobos, especially the interpretation of "Egy Szal Ingben" as a Central-Eastern-European novelette; the grasping of the character of the lyrics of Arpad Tozser and Laszlo Cselenyi; a characterization of the documentary novel, the objective-impersonal lyric, the esthetic-poetic features of neoavant-garde poetry could not even have been accomplished at the descriptive level. A more complex method was needed or else the author of the study would have failed to palpate precisely the significant in the works of these writers: that Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia had "literarized" and became of age primarily in their creations. Yes, literature "literarized". What happened, may perhaps be incomprehensible to Western-European perception although we well know what this tautology means, what historical constraints it contains. The writer of the book, after having struggled through the desert of schematic literature, places in the center of his studies precisely this, the theoretical-critical



appearance of the demand for more artistic literature, the controversies around it, and the works putting into practice the new demands. The "literarization" of literature meant that members of the middle generation and the writers appearing after them awoke to the realization that the tyranny of being conscious of a minority situation, derived from the self-defensive attitude, must be crushed, and the sketch of the ethnic realities in terms of place and time must be coupled with artistic ambition, with the validity of esthetics and with the need to sound the completeness of man. The works and articles of Laszlo Dobos, Gyula Duba and Arpad Toszser, the poems of Laszlo Cselenyi, Lajos Zs. Nagy and Imre Varga, the literature historical studies of Lajos Turczel, and the scholarly and critical activities of Laszlo Koncsol, Zsigmond Zalabai and Tibor Zsilka indicated that the Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia arrived in a new phase. Andras Gorombel provided the exact literature historical picture of this new period. Herein lies the true merit of his book.

Staying with the method and structure of the book, we can ask whether we can consider it a correct procedure that Gorombel depicts the period discussed mostly by means of portraits and writers. Is it permissible or proper that the ethnic literature of 30 years is chopped, fragmented into portraits of authors by the writer of literary history instead of examining stylistic tendencies, poetic characteristics and genre-historical phenomena? The question is by no means baseless since it hides the dilemma between a choice of the history and the science of literature, and also their confrontation. Possibly, it would be ideal if literary science, quasi from a higher level, would only discuss those aspects which make literature into literature: which would interpret it as a poetic phenomenon, a communication-semiotic signal system, a part of the cultural signals. But as long as, in addition to its literary meaning, literature is also viewed as the bearer of various contents and messages, as the transmitter of philosophical, social and moral ideas, we can hardly avoid the portraits of writers and the introduction of writers; knowing that, to sketch the writer-portrait, the tool of description also must be employed. Naturally, it would be hardly possible to survey more than half of the complete history of an ethnic literature by merely aligning a set of writer portraits. The tools of historical and sociological examinations must also be employed, and the comprehensive discussion of literary life, the institutional system, the generations and the genres can also not be circumvented. Thereby the portraits of writers become imbedded in time, they gain historical dimensions while, in the course of genre-historical summaries, the literary, esthetic and poetic phenomena are fitted into a larger network of correlations.

Andras Gorombel also proceeded in this manner. His summary of the epoch was started by a brief historical survey of the period before 1945 and by a sketch of the social and organizational-institutional frames of literature. In this part, he relied on the known results of the literature in his field. Further, adopting the coinage by Zoltan Fabry, he sketched the path of the two generations of the so-called "third bloom." In the final part, he analyzed the introductory anthologies of poets and prosaists starting out in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and he gave brief snapshots of the writers appearing in them. He paid special attention to IRODALMI SZEMLE, and the activities of those cultivating the science of literature and criticism, pointing out the activities of Lajos Turczel, Sandor Csanda and Peter Rakos, and also mentioning the works of Miklos Kovats, Laszlo Koncsol, Bela Balazs, Bertalan Tolvaj and Tibor Zsilka.

Andras Gorombel proceeded in a circumspect fashion, he used almost scrupulous case to enumerate everyone who contributed in any manner to the intellectual, critical and organizational advancement of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia. Similarly, he illuminated a whole list of themes and problems in the course of the historical survey. The picture presented by the treatise is convincing, authentic and proportional. One could hardly modify it. One could imagine an even more shaded and--as mentioned earlier--at some places more compact picturing of these 30 years of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia. But the designation of values and relative values cannot be debated or questioned. In the evaluation of writings, life-works and authors, Andras Gorombel has an excellent sense of quality. He undoubtedly gained support from Slovakian literary historiography and criticism which has found itself again. But he alone had to struggle with the extensive work of systematization and, at more than one point, he also had to shade, correct and change the self-conception of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia.

This is also reflected in the manner he evaluates the life-work of Zoltan Fabry. The Fabry portrait emerging from the dissertation can be considered one of the most nuanced today. He gives an excellent characterization of the life-work of this outstanding and important writer and publicist of the Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia. He looks back on the period between the two wars, quite rightly so because without it, Fabry's activities after 1945 would be incomprehensible. He analyses Fabry's conception of literature, his work in the interest of reality literature, he discusses in detail Fabry's articles, essays, political struggles, his fight against Nacism and the contents of his "leftistness." He attempts to give a precise meaning to categories often used by Fabry; to those key concepts which the essay writer used in his articles, often in a shoreless expansion. He translates into a rational-logical language that what is lyricism, moralization and romantic-expressionist pathos in Fabry. He extends all the respect due Fabry for his work as a writer and for his moral commitments. But he does not increase further the legend which surrounds the figure of the recluse of Stosz in more than one study. The writer of the treatise clearly states that Fabry's primary role was that of an educator and politician in the life of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia. If we consider his work in this framework, then we can speak of his steadfastness, consistency, moral implacability and uncompromising stand with the greatest appreciation. But Fabry had little sense for literature. He faced uncomprehendingly many literary phenomena. This is confirmed not only by the dogmatic attitude and often hurtful misjudgment in his articles but much more by what Andras Gorombel discusses in detail in his book. Fabry had a narrow literature theoretical and esthetical attitude; instead of literary categories, he repeated mostly vague, general moral and political categories in his articles, and his professed views on literature became increasingly outdated. He viewed literature as a tool, and the relative justification of this view in the 1930s is indisputable. The trouble is that these ideas, views and thoughts which were rooted in the historical situation, he also transferred to the conditions of the period after 1945. Fabry gained great distinction for the unmasking-critical description of the phenomenology of schematicism. But he was no longer able to provide a program for the slowly, reluctantly awakening literature because, with his vox humana, intellect, morality and other key categories, he was able to grasp little of the actually existing literary, sociological and social-psychological realities of the period.

The above discussed matters are connected with the range of questions concerning the relationship between Hungarian literature in Hungary and in Slovakia, more precisely the popular movement and the sickle movement. Andras Gorombel correctly judges the literature historical relationship of the action-interaction because he does not emphasize, what was a frequent custom, that the reality literature of the sickle movement had an effect on the work of popular writers. It is high time to also settle this legend which was planted into popular knowledge in part by Zoltan Fabry's overgrown sense of mission and messianism. First of all, we could mention the outward-directed effect of Hungarian literature--Ady, Dezso Szabo, Moricz. Then we could mention that the "search for reality" by the domestic publicists--let us think of the article on single-child families by Lajos Fulep and Janos Kodolanyi in the 1920s--, in short stories and novels--in the works by Morica, Kassak, Kodolanyi and others--and in poetry--in the lyrics of Erdelyi, Attila Jozsef and Illyes--evolved by following "local inducements." When the antecedents of the SARLO were at the level of the boy scout movement, and school literary and debating societies, and the movement still moved mostly within the frames of plans written by Edgar Balogh on school notepaper, Hungarian literature was already on the road of the so-called "reality literature." Nevertheless, there were connections between the two literatures although these did not develop unilaterally and were certainly not woven under the sign of the complete misrepresentation: "dead center--reviving peripheries" during the 1930s. (Even the famous article by Moricz referred not to literature primarily but rather to the more democratic conditions in Czechoslovakia, and to the possibilities of Hungarian youths there for greater freedom of action.)

The career of Andras Gorombel, as one of the most talented members of his generation, had to be followed with increasingly more attention from the beginning of the 1970s. At that time, his individuality as a critic was taking form more distinctly, and he emerged from among the average beginners not only by his systematic work and frequent publications, but also by his striving toward a single goal, a conscious self-improvement. He was mainly interested in popular writers, and in writers and ethnic literatures, following these and continuing in their tradition. Through his essays and critiques, we gained an extremely determined, unequivocal picture of his literary ideal. It became clear very early that he has the greatest esteem for literature "thinking in terms of the country, people and nation." In his view, the standard measure of literature was when the author succeeded to combine esthetics and ethics, if he engaged himself in service and recognized his historical mission, the duty to sound national and ethnic problems. Most of his writings concern literature dealing with such historical, social and public life interests, and in his best essays, even today he strives to combine the contents of public interest with the tools of artistic presentation, mode of formulation and the esthetic sphere, and to present these in such a manner as to confirm that important topics are elevated to validity through the wealth of poetic form. Debrecen considers traditions indispensable, it views them as inseparable from intellectual hygiene, and does not want at all to decline guarding them, but it also follows the progress of the world. It follows the progress of both literature and literary science. Although the poetic turn of literary science was received with some doubt in university and literary circles, but neither were the professionals averse to cautiously utilize its principal achievements, the ground for which was anyhow

prepared by the activities of professors Janos Barta and Imre Ban, the effect of which was projected into the editorial office of ALFOLD and from there further, into the best schools and into the classes of interested teachers. Youths and the young at heart did not find it difficult to see that the historical and poetic points of view must be unified in examining literature. The career of Andras Gorombel could also be analyzed in terms of how he attempted to apply with increasing consistency this basic truth of his profession in his shorter and longer works, among others, also in surveying the history of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia.

Nowdays, it is not all joy to write literary history. When this survey, not always containing inspiring material, was written during the 1970s, Andras Gorombel was not even touched by the internal crisis of literary historiography. His book also attests that his faith is unbroken: the work of the literary historian is not a bit of lower rank to that of the writer and it can similarly contribute to a more profound national self-knowledge as the creation of certain writers. After all, who would want more? Is there anything more beautiful and worthy than work toward the public good, performed with conviction?

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## PAPER CRITICIZES TELEVISION PROGRAMS

AU190714 [Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian on 14 July 83 on page 3 carries a 900-word Andras Lukacsy article entitled "Side Effect" that criticizes some television programs and transmission times. The author first lists a number of thrillers and other popular programs usually broadcast following the evening newscast when most viewers watch television. Noting that he does not want to reproach television for broadcasting entertainment programs at that time, he nevertheless goes on to explain that they "suppress" from that time slot "television's independent and customarily high-standard foreign, domestic, and economic political programs," as well as portraits of people in the news.

Another objection of the author to certain thriller series--including the U.S. Petrocelli and Columbo ones--is the environment in which they are enacted--"mostly in an elegant upper middle-class setting, at luxurious villas in the middle of ornamental gardens, in the elegant districts of large Western cities where even the detective drives a dream car." These "commercial films," altogether, "suggest" a "way of life" that "the overall effect of political magazines is hard put to counteract," notes the author, calling it the "side effect" of international commercial films and programs. He says: "It could lead to harm if we portion them out in bigger dosages than the public, which is tempted by the demon of longing for acquisition, can bear. We can definitely speak up against them, because their cumulative effect can be very harmful."

The author also criticizes the choice of the British-made 1967 film "The Night of the Generals," on the 1944 attempt by Wehrmacht officers to assassinate Hitler and its transmission at the main evening time slot. The author calls this a "political mistake," because all the portrayed officers but one turn out not to be Nazis with the only exception being insane. He says that such programs "cannot be offset in the awareness of the public at large" even by programs composed as "topically and politically as 'Panorama,' 'Studio,' 'Risk,' and 'Even our Grandchildren Will See It.'"

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PENSIONS, HOUSEHOLD ALLOWANCES TO INCREASE 1 SEPTEMBER

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jul 83 p 5

[Report by the Hungarian Telegraph Service: "The Council of Ministers Discussed—Small Pensions and Allowances for Married Couples Will be Increased as of 1 September]

[Text] Even under the current, difficult conditions, the government is helping, within the possibilities, to provide greater income to the social strata most in need of it. It is known that, as of 1 July, a large part of the family allowances was increased providing 2.3 billion forints more annually to the parents of 1 million 600,000 children for their better support. The current resolution by the Council of Ministers, jointly with the National Council of Trade Unions states that, in order to improve the financial situation of the aged and of the severely handicapped, as of 1 September, certain pensions and the allowance for married couples must be raised. This resolution on pension is aimed primarily at improving the situation of those who live on low pensions set long ago, the aged and the severely handicapped. The resolution by the Council of Ministers was guided by this principle. The resolution affects 740,000 people and the raise, on an annual basis, represents an increase by 1 billion 150 million forints to them. About one-third of this amount is covered by the excess sum derived from the increased contribution of those with higher incomes to the old-age fund, as of January of this year. The governmental resolution will raise pensions established a long time ago, self-employed pensions, furthermore, pensions to surviving mates and parents, and allowances to orphans, because these are considerably lower than the sum determined in recent years. This also means that social differences within identical strata of pensioners cannot be fully followed by a centralized increase in pensions. The centralized increase in pensions cannot be adjusted to the individual circumstances of old people also for technical reasons. But the council organs have the means to also consider these individual circumstances and, where necessary, to issue increased allowances to those in need.

Starting 1 September, irrespective of the current amount of pension, there will be a 200 forint monthly increase in the allowance of those whose self-employed pensions were set before 1959 (1967 in the case of agricultural cooperative members). (Namely, the new pension system for

agricultural cooperative members was introduced not in 1959 but in 1967, and the age limit of pension eligibility also became gradually uniform). Also irrespective of the amount of pension, the pension of the severely handicapped (class I and II) and the allowance for agricultural cooperative work disability will be increased by 150 forints per month. Also increased by 150 forints but not to exceed a total of 2800 forints per month will be the old age pension, class III disability pension and accidental disability pension of those pensioned between 1959 and 1970 (in the case of agricultural cooperative members, between 1967 and 1970). But the increase cannot be less than 50 forints per month even if thereby the 2800 forint limit is exceeded.

Increased by 100 forints per month but not to exceed a total of 2800 forints will be the allocation for relatives set before 1971, or based on a pension set before 1971, that is, for widows, parents and orphans. The increase cannot be less than 50 forints here either. Also increased by 100 forints per month will be the agricultural cooperative aged and widow allocations set before 1971. All allowances for married couples will be increased by 100 forints as will be the amount to which a pension may be supplemented by allowances for married couples.

Distribution of the increased pensions will start in September and it needs no special application.

The National Council of Unions, in agreement with the Minister of Finance, the ministers and the organs representing interests involved, will issue regulations on the execution of orders related to the increase in pensions and married couple allowances.

In addition to the increased pensions, the councils will receive 200 million forints annually. The purpose will be, on the basis of a direct investigation of the individual situation of old people, to increase the support given earlier to those most in need of it, to those receiving a pension or an allotment who are in a multiple-disadvantageous situation, and to those who are not eligible for pension. The social support fund of the local councils has already been increased by a pro-rated amount as of 1 July and joint guidelines were issued by the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Culture concerning the principles to be applied in the use of this additional sum.

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DECREE ON HOUSING SUBSIDIES FOR MEMBERS OF ARMED FORCES

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian No 28, 29 Jun 83 pp 442, 443

[Joint Decree 16/1983 (VI. 29.) PM-EVM of the Minister of Financial Affairs and the Minister of Construction Affairs and Urban Development Concerning Support for Housing Construction (Purchase) by Members of the Armed Forces, Armed Bodies and Police Organs]

[Text] In the interest of supporting housing construction (purchase) by members of the armed forces, armed bodies and police organs, and in agreement with the Minister of Defense, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Minister of Justice, the National Headquarters of the Workers Guard, the Chairman of the Councils Office of the Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the State Wage and Labor Affairs Office, we decree the following:

1. The effect of the decree extends to:

- a. The Ministry of Defense and its subordinate organs, and to the budgetary operations of the Hungarian People's Army--with the exception of the provisions pertaining to generation of the housing construction fund,
- b. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, the police, the Border Guard and other subordinate organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs,
- c. The Workers Guard,
- d. The Penal Service of the Ministry of Justice,
- e. The Customs and Finance Guard of the Ministry of Financial Affairs, and
- f. The State Fire Fighting Service--(hereinafter together, armed bodies).

2. Joint Decree 48/1982 (X. 7.) PM-EVM concerning employer support for housing construction shall be applied to the armed bodies with the differences contained in this decree.

3. On the basis of this decree the minister providing supervision of the armed body, in regard to the Workers Guard the national commander of the Workers Guard, will determine in a separate directive the rules pertaining to the armed body for support of housing construction (purchase).



4. (1) Those enjoying support can be service persons or persons in a work relationship with the armed body (hereinafter: body worker).

(2) The commander designated in the separate directive will designate the body worker enjoying support.

5. (1) The armed body can generate the housing construction fund from the following financial sources:

a. from a part of the housing investment allocation of the armed body determined by the National Plan Office and the Minister of Financial Affairs,

b. by alienation of building real estate suitable for housing being managed or from the proceeds deriving from handing over the management right,

c. from housing use fees and from housing construction contributions due on the basis of Government Decree 2/1971 (II. 8.) to the armed body,

d. from the payment on principle and late interest paid by a worker enjoying mutual support,

e. from support returned by a new employing organ of a worker enjoying support

f. from the sum serving housing construction support deriving from social work,

g. from interest returned by the National Savings Bank on the sum being managed in the account of the housing construction fund.

(2) In accordance with Joint Decree 48/1982 (X. 7.) PM-EVM, the budgetary operations of the Hungarian People's Army generate their housing construction funds at the burden of their profits.

6. From the housing construction fund the armed body can:

a. extend to body workers support in the manner determined by paragraph (1) of Section 12 of Joint Decree 48/1982 (X. 7.) PM-EVM, and

b. purchase housing for the purpose of service housing.

7. (1) The armed body can give to the body worker a concession out of the loan extended to the burden of the housing construction fund of at most 50,000 forints on the basis of the service (work relationship) time served with the armed body. Within this limit the magnitude of the concession and the service (work relationship) time linked to it will be determined in the separate directive.

(2) The concession can be extended on the basis of the service (work relationship) time up to the time the loan is extended or for the time served thereafter. When establishing the service (work relationship) time from the viewpoint of the concession the service (work relationship) time served with another armed body can be taken into consideration too, if the worker went directly from there to the armed body extending the support. The concession cannot exceed the amount still owed. The sum of the concession is credited to the account of the debtor by the National Savings Bank on the basis of notification by the armed body.

(3) In the event the service relationship--work relationship--is terminated by disciplinary action or on the basis of the judgment of a criminal court or if the body worker does not fulfill his obligations undertaken in the loan agreement the concession must be withdrawn. On the basis of the action taken by the armed body the National Savings Bank burdens the account of the debtor with the concession already credited. What is contained in Joint Decree 48/1982 (X. 7.) PM-EVM must be applied to the recovery of these debts.

(4) In the event of death connected with service while in service the service (work) relationship of the body worker, from the viewpoint of the concession, must be raised to the upper limit established by the leader of the body in the separate directive on the basis of paragraph (1), and the sum of the concession thus established must be credited in a lump sum to the spouse and direct line heirs living together with him.

(5) Additional concessions above the concession defined in paragraph (1) can be extended only to the burden of the awards allocation of the armed body in accordance with conditions set in the separate directive.

8. This decree goes into effect on the day of its promulgation; simultaneous with its going into effect Joint Decree 5/1972 (I. 29.) PM-EVM-MuM loses its effect.

signed, Dr Istvan Hetenyi, Minister of Financial Affairs

signed, Dr Kalman Abraham, Minister of Construction Affairs and Urban Development

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POLAND

JARUZELSKI INTERVIEWED ON PAPAL VISIT

Kielce ECHO DNIA in Polish 28 Jun 83 [page numbers unavailable]

[Interview with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski by Anna Wilniewczyc: "Before the Eyes of Poland and the World"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Mr Prime Minister, did you fear that Pope John Paul II's visit might have some unpredictable consequences? Most Western journalists had implied that the Pope's arrival might be used as a pretext to incite unrest in Poland.

[Answer] This visit was too great and significant an event not to be considered with great responsibility and concern. However, concern is not fear. Frankly, I did not feel the sort of fear you mean because I have always believed in our people's maturity and sense of responsibility. Besides, I believe that the situation in Poland is returning to normal, that the authorities are in control of it, and, finally, that the Church and the Pope want the motherland to prosper.

In the course of preparations for John Paul II's trip to Poland, we agreed on proper conditions for it and made sure they would be furnished. I believe our expectations and anticipations were right. Although the trip ended only a short time ago, I can already say that they were undoubtedly correct.

[Question] Yet, even during the pope's trip through Poland, Western commentators kept implying that this visit by the Roman Catholic pontiff was not exclusively religious in character. Did the government detect any political intentions in the pope's speeches?

[Answer] The visit took place before the eyes of all Poles and of a large part of the world. The media--the press, radio and television--presented the ceremonies as happening on a big stage. Every word the pope said was heard. Everybody knew what Professor Henryk Jablonski said at Warsaw and Krakow airports, and what I said at the Belvedere. It is up to anyone's power of reasoning, or to anyone's good or ill will, to interpret individual speeches. The government never claimed that its views on all matters are identical with

those held by the Church. For one, there are ideological differences, and this does not need to create speculation. I realize that, given the exceptional conditions and the mood, some of the pope's words and ideas could be interpreted in various ways. However, in talks with our honorable guest, we did reach a platform of understanding on certain supreme matters, finding a solution to which is a heartfelt concern both to government officials and to Church representatives. These matters include peace, Poland's prosperity, and conciliation between all patriotic forces in our nation.

[Question] Your second meeting with John Paul II was not on the agenda. Did the Vatican press spokesman Romeo Panciaroli's statement strongly stressing the nonpolitical character of the pope's speeches somehow pave the way for another round of talks?

[Answer] This meeting was held at the Church's initiative. I admit it was easier for me to accept this proposal after Panciaroli's official denial. This second meeting was certainly a very propitious accent for this visit, because it put an end to political speculation.

[Question] Were the topics discussed at the Wawel castle different from those discussed at the Belvedere?

[Answer] Generally, this talk was a continuation and expansion of the talk which took place on the second day of the pope's visit. Using more enriched arguments, we discussed the Polish nation's future and actions on behalf of peace.

[Question] Mr Prime Minister, do you believe that, to some extent, the papal visit will contribute to further normalization of relations in Poland?

[Answer] I very much wish it would. Yet, everything is still before us. A great deal depends on what conclusions society and the Church draw from this visit. At any rate, the authorities are determined to do anything for the effects of this visit to be beneficial to the state and to the idea of national conciliation, and thus beneficial to Poland.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

CSO: 2600/1146



## ROMANIA

### SOLIDARITY WITH ALL COMMUNIST PARTIES STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 83 pp 32-34

/Article by Gheorghe Stoica: "RCP Policy of Strengthening Solidarity with Communist Parties and All Revolutionary, Progressive Forces"/

/Text/ The RCP and the revolutionary and democratic movement in Romania have a rich heritage of traditions of revolutionary international solidarity. With the appearance of the first workers circles and revolutionary, progressive militants in Romania relations of international collaboration and solidarity were established with the revolutionary and progressive circles and personalities in other countries. Romanian revolutionaries took part in the French revolution of 1848 and fought at the barricades of the Paris Commune. Romanian revolutionaries, progressives and socialists maintained active relations with the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, and other revolutionaries and played an active part in the First International (International Association of Workers) and later in the Socialist International and various international bodies and congresses.

The Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania, which was founded nine decades ago and which based its activity from the start on the principles of scientific socialism and the class theory of Marx and Engels, organized solidarity actions with the workers in Russia, England, the United States and other countries in Europe and America and with the anticolonial and anti-imperialist movements for social and national emancipation everywhere. The Romanian revolutionary militants had connections with Lenin and other noted revolutionaries in Russia and other neighboring countries and actively participated in various international actions opposing the first imperialist world war. The Romanian revolutionaries organized special detachments and fought with arms in hand for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the antifascist war in Spain, and in the partisan uprisings in France and other states during World War II. In their turn the revolutionary and progressive forces and the workers movement in Romania enjoyed the support and solidarity of the revolutionary and progressive movements in other countries.

During the postwar decades the RCP continued its active support of the revolutionary movements for national and social emancipation and the peoples' struggle

against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, exploitation and oppression and on behalf of independence and progress, widely developing relations of collaboration and solidarity with the communist parties and all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces. It must be pointed out here that as Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Ever since it was founded the RCP has always militated for relations based on respect for every party's independence and its right to develop its own policy according to the conditions under which it is operating. Experience tells us that when those principles were violated great harm was done both to the respective parties and to the principles of international solidarity and collaboration." (1)

Carrying on the rich traditions of revolution and solidarity of the workers and democratic movement and of the Romanian people, the RCP has developed and amplified them in the years of socialist revolution and construction and lent them a new content and dimensions. In particular, since the Ninth Party Congress and the election of Nicolae Ceausescu to the high office of party secretary general the RCP has effectively expanded and developed relations of international collaboration and solidarity and asserted itself as an active force in the effort to strengthen, on new principles, the unity of the communist and workers parties and the solidarity among all the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

According to the policies set in the RCP Program and in the decisions of the 12th Party Congress, the RCP continued to consolidate its ties of friendship, collaboration and solidarity with the communist, socialist and democratic parties, with other progressive parties and organizations, and with all anti-imperialist forces. Thanks to its steadfast and consistent promotion of that policy, the RCP now has relations of collaboration with about 200 communist and workers parties, socialist and social-democratic parties, democratic forces, government parties, and political organizations and movements for national liberation.

Meanwhile Romania's foreign relations have been developed and have acquired an unprecedented dynamism and scope. Romania is maintaining diplomatic relations with 139 states and economic and trade exchanges with 150 countries on all continents. As we know, Romania emphasizes intensification and consolidation of mutually advantageous collaboration and solidarity with all socialist countries and especially the neighboring ones, and it is also expanding and diversifying its relations of friendship and collaboration with the developing and unaligned countries and extending its relations with the developed capitalist countries and all countries of the world regardless of social systems. Romania's entire international activity is firmly based upon the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, abstention from use or threat of force, and every people's right to self-determination and free and independent development, and Romania takes consistent action to promote those principles in all international relations.

The dynamism of Romania's socialist development, the breadth of our party's and state's international relations, and their active participation in and contribution to discussion and solution of the complex problems of the contemporary world are inseparable from the prodigious theoretical and practical activity of

Party Secretary General and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu, from his revolutionary determination and high sense of responsibility in fulfilling his national and international obligations, and his decisive contribution to the preparation and implementation of Romania's domestic and foreign policies. The entire evolution of events fully bears out the correctness of the goals and policies set by Nicolae Ceausescu, a fact that has increasingly enhanced his prestige and authority throughout the world and consolidated the positions of the RCP and socialist Romania in the world of today.

In the light of the changes and developments in international affairs and the objective requirements of present-day social development, the policies set forth by Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 and in his Report to the National Party Conference of 16-18 December 1982 substantiate the basic principles and major aims of the policy of international unity, collaboration and solidarity promoted with unfailing consistency by the RCP and Romania. Reaffirming those principles and aims, the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 23-24 March 1983 stated the RCP's decision to take firm and consistent action as before in the spirit of the RCP Program and the policies set by the 12th Party Congress and Nicolae Ceausescu to develop relations with the communist and workers parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with other government political units and movements for national liberation, and with the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in all countries.

In its policy and entire activity the RCP proceeds from the fact that the national and international obligations, namely patriotism and international solidarity, are two aspects of the same uniform revolutionary policy. There is a dialectical unity and a close interdependence between the two categories of obligations. In successfully performing their historic mission, the working class and the revolutionary parties are emerging as exponents of the vital interests of the entire nation and the entire people while also fulfilling their basic international obligation. Therefore defense of the interests of their own people not only does not conflict in any way with revolutionary collaboration and solidarity but is, on the contrary, a prime factor for strengthening mutual confidence and respect and an essential requirement for increasingly effective promotion of international solidarity.

In the spirit of its rich revolutionary traditions of international solidarity, keeps trying to broaden and intensify its relations of collaboration and solidarity with all communist and workers parties on the premise that in the present international situation those parties and their collaboration are vital factors in the peoples' increasingly intensive effort toward peace, independence and socioeconomic progress.

To be sure differences of opinion can arise in the treatment of some problems of the revolutionary effort and contemporary development, and disagreements can and even do appear at times. The great diversity of historical, socioeconomic, political and national conditions under which the communist and workers parties operate and the fact that many of them have become government parties can cause such situations. But the different approaches to some problems must not block unification of efforts in the struggle for the common ideals of peace and social progress, or contacts and exchanges of opinions, or relations among parties



and their collaboration and unity. On the contrary, the communist and workers parties are called upon to act in the direction of their closer collaboration, solidarity and unity in order to achieve a new unity based on the principles of full equality and respect for every party's independence and right to develop its political policy and its revolutionary strategy and tactics independently according to the conditions in its country, bearing in mind that each party is solely responsible to its own working class and its own people for its actions in defense of their interests.

The new unity must be based on this reality and on these principles, and it must bring about extensive international collaboration and solidarity on the vital problems of the present-day world. The RCP and its secretary general believe the new unity of the communist and workers parties must be firmly based upon all parties' equality of rights regardless of their size or age, upon exclusion of any centers of management or coordination of the communist parties' activities and any forms of interference in other parties' internal affairs, and upon mutual aid, friendly collaboration and international solidarity. Consistent application of those principles is indispensable to the new unity and solidarity of the communist and workers movement.

Observance of the right of every people and every party to choose their methods of social reform independently is a basic requirement for the new kind of unity and solidarity. The distinctive social and national characteristics of every country, its stage of socioeconomic development, its historical traditions etc. inevitably result in an increasingly wide range of ways and means of building the new social order. Creating a new unity of the communist movement primarily requires understanding of the fact, fully demonstrated by experience, that any given people take and will take the path of socialism in accordance with the social conditions in each country and that there are and can be no models or countermodels for socialist revolution and construction.

The general principles apply differently to different countries and to different stages of socioeconomic development. Consistent observance of those principles unquestionably excludes the possibility of denying the socialist character of any given country or of contrasting the socialism in one country with the socialism in other countries or with the socialism that is to be constructed in the future. As for the RCP, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "We make no claim whatever that Romanian socialist society has solved all problems or that it can constitute a single model for development. We do not want to be any model for anyone in any case or in any way. We believe every people must attain socialism through their own experience and in the light of their social experience, history and traditions. To be sure there are general laws that must be observed by anyone wishing to achieve socialism. There can be no socialism unless economic and social inequality is eliminated. But how this inequality is to be eliminated is a problem for each social force and each people. We are firmly in favor of observing the right of every people and party to develop its general policy and to solve its problems as it thinks best with no outside interference." (2)

The objective existence and recognition by the communist and workers parties of the various ways of undertaking socialism, building the new social order, and applying the general laws to the actual conditions in each country are lending a new dimension and a new perspective to the world's socialist development and enriching the treasury of revolutionary theory and practice.



In view of the necessity of consolidating the unity of the workers movement and of all forces in favor of socialist reform of the world, the RCP is developing extensive relations with the socialist and social-democratic parties and all workers parties and organizations and militating for strengthened solidarity and collaboration on the vital contemporary problems. Development of collaboration among communists, socialists, social-democrats and all forces of the left on the national and international levels serves the peoples' independent, progressive and democratic development, the general cause of national independence and social progress, and the interests of detente, disarmament, collaboration and peace in the world. Differences of opinion on some problems, including the ways and means of transition to socialism, must not obstruct development of collaboration among the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties and among all forces favoring socialism. Experience bears out the conclusion that there are many problems of common concern on which the communists, socialists, social-democrats and other workers forces can and must act together in full collaboration and equality, especially the vital problems of the struggle for democracy, national independence and social progress, for innovating changes in society and international affairs, to stop the armaments race and disarm, to prevent another world war, and to safeguard peace.

The RCP feels that development of new relations of unity and collaboration among communists, socialists, social-democrats and all workers parties and organizations and achievement of working-class unity of action on that basis are major aims of consolidated international collaboration and solidarity. To this end and for the historical reconciliation between communists and socialists in the long run, we must begin with what unites the workers parties and organizations and make efforts on both sides to attain unity and collaboration in the struggle to ensure peace, the independence of the peoples and their free development on the path of economic and social progress. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Under the present international circumstances it is more necessary than ever for us to understand that all communist and workers parties, all socialist and social-democratic parties, and all forces in favor of socialism must realize that it is their obligation and duty to make every effort not to aggravate the contradictions among them but to overcome them on the basis of the socialist revolutionary principles while respecting the independence of each party and each social-political force. There are and in a sense there will still be differences of opinion, nor can differing opinions on the many problems in today's world be avoided. But we must realize that it is our duty to strengthen international solidarity and collaboration." (3)

The RCP is also developing extensive collaboration and solidarity with the national liberation movements, with the government parties in the countries that have shaken off imperialist domination and are striving to consolidate their independence, and with the democratic parties in all countries, regarding stronger collaboration of all those forces as a necessity of the present period and a factor for better international relations, for resumption and consolidation of detente, and for disarmament, peace and social progress.

The great revolutionary social and national changes that have taken place in the world, the increasingly powerful advance of socialism as the only system that can secure rapid national development, and the appearance of many complex and particularly acute problems facing all peoples and all mankind keep extending the scope of the political and social forces advocating innovating structural

changes in society, democracy, national independence and peace. Never in the history of mankind has the range of political and social forces committed to the struggle for innovating changes on the national and international levels, for socialism and for peace and against new wars been as broad and significant as it is in the present period.

Actually there are many peoples today and a wide range of political and social forces advocating socialism and stating that they wish to build socialism in accordance with their social, national and historical circumstances. The RCP welcomes the options for socialism in a number of countries and feels that any step in that direction should be supported because it agrees with the evolution of human society and the necessity of making a better and more just world on our planet. Meanwhile the national liberation movements, the progressive, democratic parties, and the peoples of the developing countries are an important factor in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and for a new policy of independence, disarmament, peace and collaboration among nations and for elimination of underdevelopment and formation of a new international economic and political order.

And so in view of the great changes in the world and the growing and telling role of the masses in social change and international affairs, the RCP includes all revolutionary, progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces and the peoples everywhere in its conception of revolutionary internationalism and in its policy of international collaboration and solidarity. Due to the demands of contemporary social development, the appeal of the founders of scientific socialism for union of the proletariat in all countries must be supplemented, as Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly said, by the following appeal: "Workers, peasants, intellectuals, progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere, and peoples of all countries, unite in the struggle for peace, progress, abolition of imperialism and colonialism, national and social emancipation, and free and independent development! Take resolute action for collaboration, detente, security, a better and more just world on our planet and peace!" (4)

The RCP is firmly convinced that the united effort and close collaboration of all these forces and the peoples can bring about a new course of international affairs, of every people's free development on the path of economic and social progress, and of creation of a world of peace and collaboration.

This is more necessary than ever under the present circumstances, when a particularly serious crisis has occurred in international affairs endangering the freedom and lives of the peoples and cessation of the armaments race, start of disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament, elimination of the threat of war and safeguarding peace are the vital problems of our time. The struggle against the imperialist policy of force and dictation, of apportioning and reapportioning spheres of influence, and of domination and exploitation of other peoples, safeguarding world peace, human civilization and life on earth from a destructive thermomuclear war, cessation of the armaments race and disarmament, institution of a new international economic order, a new basis for all international relations and democratization of same in reality are all major aims, and the socialist countries, the communist, socialist and democratic movements, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other social categories, all revolutionary, progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces and the peoples everywhere can and should make an increasingly active contribution by their united efforts to the fulfillment of those aims. Under the conditions of the

present period assuming responsibility for and actively participating in the effort to solve the major problems of mankind in the peoples' interest are among the most important requirements for international solidarity and collaboration. The peoples and the progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere have the necessary capacity to stop the course toward tension in international affairs, to put an end to the armaments race, and to secure the triumph of peace and reason as well as respect for every people's right to free and independent development.

In this spirit the RCP and the Romanian people are widely developing contacts and connections of solidarity and collaboration with all revolutionary, progressive and anti-imperialist forces and all peoples and constantly striving to consolidate their unity and collaboration in fulfilling the most ardent aspirations of mankind. As the RCP and its secretary general keep pointing out, closer collaboration and solidarity with the effort of the masses and realistic forces everywhere for cessation of the armaments race, disarmament and peace are particularly important at the present time. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Now on the 165th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism, his appeals for solidarity and closer collaboration of the proletariat are more timely than ever, as supplemented today by the appeal to all oppressed peoples to unite to secure a new world without exploiters or wars, a world of equal collaboration among all nations." (5)

More intensive contact among the masses and collaboration on science and culture are important requirements for developing international friendship, confidence and collaboration. The RCP feels that the mass information media, the press and radio and TV have an important part to play in this respect and that they should act, in the spirit of the UN resolutions, on behalf of the information and rapprochement of the peoples and in order to educate them, especially their youth, in the spirit of peace, friendship and collaboration. Hence the requirement to put a stop to the policy of some backward circles abroad of falsifying the facts in a country and misinforming public opinion, which practices arouse animosity and distrust among peoples.

In pursuance of the policies set by the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference and as indicated in the Decision of the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 23-24 March 1983 on the international policy of our party and state, the RCP will continue to promote extensive relations with the communist and workers parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with other government political units and national liberation movements, and with the democratic and anti-imperialist forces everywhere, and it will collaborate with them to bar the path to war through the united front of the masses and world public opinion and to bring about a new course in international affairs toward detente, collaboration and socioeconomic progress. It is and has been the RCP's firm conviction, borne out by experience and the course of events, that the strengthened solidarity and unity of these forces is a critically important requirement for the victory of the policy of peace and disarmament and the free and independent development of every people according to their aspirations to progress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Sixty Years of Dedicated Service to the People and of Struggle for Social Justice and National Freedom, for Socialist Construction and the Greater Good of the Masses, and for National Independence, International Collaboration and Peace," Political Publishing House, 1981, p 36.
2. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 23, Political Publishing House, 1983, p 251.
3. Ibidem, pp 251-252.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 12th RCP Congress," Political Publishing House, 1979 pp 117-118.
5. SCINTEIA 10 May 1983.

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CSO: 2700/252



## ROMANIA

### SOCIALIST OWNERSHIP AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 83 pp 7-10

[Article by Ioan Erhan]

[Text] Socialist construction has made profound and unprecedented changes in the productive forces and relations in Romania and in the Romanian people's whole way of life, thought and feeling. There is no doubt that socialist ownership of the production means is the factor that triggered those radical changes and has kept them alive. As we know, the foundations for it were laid 35 years ago by the act of 11 June 1948 nationalizing the main production means, which was enacted by means of the full political power gained by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry.

The fact is generally recognized in theory and confirmed by economic experience that the development of socialist ownership in Romania is the direct result of the entire Romanian people's heroic efforts to increase the volume and effectiveness of the production means, to create new jobs, to raise labor productivity and the technical level of production in all sectors, and to modernize the structure of the national economy. These intensive and sustained efforts culminated primarily in the party's consistent policy of accumulation and investment direction, thus securing rapid growth of the volume of fixed assets, improvement of their technical standards and effectiveness, and expansion of the circulating capital of the national economy as the material components of socialist ownership.

It is significant in this regard that the fixed assets in the national economy, the chief manifestation of socialist ownership, increased by more than 9 times in 1951-1982, amounting to about two-thirds of the national wealth incorporated in goods created by Romanian society. The national wealth in accumulated material goods now amounts to 3.4 trillion lei, while the value of the existing fixed assets in the national economy amounts to 2.1 trillion lei compared with 207 billion lei in 1950. In addition to those means of labor there is also a considerable volume of objects of labor. The means of labor are the essence of the technical-material base, and its operational subsystem upon which socioeconomic progress directly depends.

In the years of socialist construction there were particularly heavy gains in fixed assets in the nonagricultural sectors. In 1951-1981 the fixed assets in industry, for example, increased by 22 times, those in construction by 57 times, those in transportation and telecommunications by 7.5 times, and those of education, culture, art, health protection, social aid and physical culture increased by 9.5 times. It is equally noteworthy that the fixed assets in agriculture increased by more than 5.2 times in the same period. Now after more than 20 years since the close of cooperativization the agricultural draft animals and rigs contributed by peasants when they joined cooperatives have been used up and consumed entirely, it may be said, so that all or almost all the common property of today is the result of work in common. If that reasoning is extended to the whole economy, it follows that over 63 percent of the total fixed assets in the Romanian economy at the end of 1982 were created since 1971.

These spectacular increases demonstrate the fact that economically speaking the present fixed assets are entirely the result of the social labor performed by producers in the years of socialism, bearing out the conclusion that the means of labor of which the socialist state became the owner about 35 years ago through the nationalization act were practically all replaced in that period.

Therefore the state's ownership of the main production means enacted on 11 June 1948 no longer has any economic support. Almost all the production means created and accumulated in the years of socialist construction are the result of the social labor performed in that period, which makes them the social property of the entire people. In view of that fact Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Plenum of 1-2 June 1982 that "It is incorrect to identify social property, the property of the entire people, with state property. The state is not and should not be the owner in the legal sense of the word. Social property belongs to the people."

The social property of the entire people is being considerably developed in the current five-year plan in pursuance of the policies set by the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, and this development has some distinctive features in keeping with the requirements of the present stage. For instance in the industrial and construction sectors, where there is a strong technical base, the emphasis is on modernization and renewal of fixed assets. In the industrial sectors important to technical progress and the sectors of the extractive industry, the investment funds are used primarily to found new economic units. The requirements for intensive development of agriculture as well as the growing role of transportation in the national economy demand modernization and renovation of the existing means of labor in addition to more intensive technical equipment of those sectors. Therefore the investment process is subordinated to the need of replacing the worn-out means of labor with new and improved means and to the major aims of the present stage, among which restructuring the industrial sectors, the new agrarian revolution and expansion of the domestic raw material base are most important. It is accordingly clear that in the current five-year plan most of the national fund for socioeconomic development is allocated to growth of the volume of means of labor, which reflects the extensive development of socialist ownership.

Since investments in the nonagricultural sectors, especially in industry, construction and transportation, take up a large proportion of the total investments

in the economy in the current five-year plan too, the proportions of fixed assets in those sectors are still increasing, especially in industry (from 19.8 percent in 1951 to 44.3 percent in 1981) and agriculture (from 0.7 to 4.3 percent in the same period). The proportion of fixed assets in agriculture will be considerably increased during this five-year plan by the heavy investments of about 155 billion lei. The processes now appearing in the Romanian economy bid fair to place the objective of modernizing and renovating the means of labor now in operation in the first rank of development of socialist ownership.

While stressing the striking evolution of the production means (fixed assets together with the material elements of circulating capital, which are actually the main and critical component of the social property of the entire people and consequently of the national wealth), we must not overlook the important growth of the other components of the national wealth, namely the national fund of information and the educational stock, the results of domestic and assimilated scientific research, and the fund of cultural-artistic values, regardless of whether the respective goods or values are legally cooperative, private or the entire people's property.

Along with the quantitative and qualitative growth of the components of the national wealth, an intensified socialization of the latter is increasingly apparent. It does not necessarily require modification of the law of property, applying to the expanded functions and responsibilities of the socialist state for development of the national wealth as a whole alongside democratization of its management and use, which means greater possibilities for its use by the members of society. Such socialization is also indicated by the legal regulations of recent years that define the land as national property, an inexhaustible material resource compared to the other production means, which are subject to cycles, periodic replacement and obsolescence. This means society has the supreme obligation to protect the land reserve, to demand intensive use of agricultural lands, and to preserve and improve the qualities of that natural resource. The same is true of the provisions of the law on protection, preservation and development of the national cultural heritage, which specifies the responsibilities of society as well as those of the socioeconomic units, institutions and private owners.

The fact that all socioeconomic activities are included in the Uniform National Plan, whereby it is intended to use most of the national wealth for the benefit of society regardless of the form of ownership, also reflects the intensified socialization of the national wealth and the more democratic use of the national heritage.

In addition to incorporating the economy of the agricultural cooperatives in the Uniform National Plan, the improvement of economic management, organization and planning by including all socioeconomic activity in said plan was also aimed at other fields such as scientific research and culture as well as the private farmers' or artisans' production in general.

The qualitative changes made in production relations are particularly predominant in the entire people's social ownership,\* which has ceased to be a relationship between the worker and the state as the official administrator of the "monopoly" of social funds. Socialist ownership is becoming a relationship among

\*As indicated by the picture presented above.



the workers themselves, who do their productive work in an organized fashion in units of the national economy, that is in enterprises and institutions. Now the essential relationship characterizing the entire people's social ownership is that between society as a whole as the owner of the main production means and the multitude of workers collectives allowed to use a part of those production means. It is this new relationship established between society as a whole and the workers community that has brought about the improvement of the mechanism of the economy through extensive promotion of the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, and accordingly the more direct responsibility of every collective to society as a whole for good management of material and financial resources, steady development of production, the greater labor productivity and economic effectiveness of the unit where it works, and the resulting gain in the incomes of every member of society.

The particular ways of meeting those requirements in social activity were provided by the Law on Participation, with Social Shares, of Workers in State Economic Units in the Formation of the Fund for Economic Development, whereby the workers no longer appear as passive subjects of the law connected with an enterprise solely in their capacity as working personnel of the unit. Bearing the entire responsibility for the exercise of their socioeconomic and legal functions, the workers collectives have become legal entities directly interested in taking over the functions assigned them in their new capacity by the laws whose executors they are. Institution of these new ownership relations based on the workers' direct ownership of part of the entire people's property can improve the relationship between public and private ownership and coordinate the individual and collective interests more closely. This will certainly strengthen the workers' awareness of their capacity as owners of the production means and consequently their sense of social responsibility. The worker is the individual possessor of the advanced sum, but he becomes more aware, so to speak, of the fact that it forms a single whole with the part contributed by his comrades at work and with the part that is common property.

The direct correlation of socialist property with the individual and collective interests also supplements what we call the system of interests by unifying the individual and collective interests with the material incentives and responsibility for individual activity. The new measures more directly and effectively stimulate awareness of the fact that private property can be considerably increased by the extra incomes from participation in social ownership with individual social shares, in addition to incomes from remuneration for work performed. In other words the worker becomes a cooperating owner, and that new capacity motivates him to perform more perseveringly and to better advantage in all major production activities\*, in the direction of reduced inputs of raw materials, materials, energy and fuels, better exploitation of them, more effective use of machinery and equipment, and improvement of labor productivity and of the quality and technical standards of the products. By the same token, his sense of management will respond promptly under any circumstances where social property is threatened by maladministration or by any attempt to impair it by antisocial acts.

The worker's existence as a socialist owner is brought into full relief by his perception and experience of it as such. The workers' ownership under socialism is objective but it proves incomplete and inconsistent if awareness of it is

\*As a good manager.



lacking and the socialist producer does not live and behave as an active, cooperating owner in his relationships with the others. And it is this very factor that the new measures adopted in the Law on Participation, with Social Shares, of Workers in State Economic Units in the Formation of the Fund for Economic Development are intended to activate. By virtue of its stimulating effects, this law is a new and higher form of material incentive. It also promotes another, qualitatively different view of the institution of state socialist ownership and its development.

The new legal regulation is one of many specific ways to complete the process of extending democracy in Romania's socioeconomic activity and to improve the framework for mass participation in management. In the present developmental stage of Romanian society, this measure to improve ownership relations meets an objective necessity. The people's exercise of the function of collective owners of the production means is evolving along with the progress of socialist society. The trend of this phenomenon means that as the workers acquire experience they acquire new aptitudes for participating as directly as possible in actual economic management, practical decision-making, and control over implementation of decisions. The direct result of perfecting these aptitudes can only be improvement of the framework for mass participation in management, in the direction of intensified economic democracy. If this objective trend were overlooked a contradiction would arise between the workers' capacity as associated owners and the unsatisfactory legislation for their exercise of that capacity or disregard of it in practice. Aggravation of this contradiction would result, among other things, in a loss in economic and social effectiveness and it would ultimately obstruct development of the productive forces, just as its resolution improves socialist ownership as a socioeconomic relationship and preserves its role as a prime mover of development of the productive forces.

The party's new measures can lend the economic base new potentials in its dialectical relationship with social awareness, upon which it is exercising a more powerful influence. There is no need of specific examples to demonstrate a visible discrepancy at points between the level of the productive forces and that of awareness. Some people's thinking and ability to understand Romania's complex socioeconomic processes lag behind the evolution of the means of labor they are using. Such people are in a contradictory dualism. Their work and existence depend on modern production means and the entire people's social property but they live and think with the attitude of private owners and a narrow, ego-centric outlook, aspiring under socialism to privileges and advantages pertaining to private ownership.

In its way this is a contradiction that certainly must be overcome. Participation with social shares operates in that direction, in that it activates the workers' awareness of social ownership and leads them to take a keen interest in satisfaction of the community's interests, which are vitally important to satisfaction of individual interests, namely the desire to earn the largest possible incomes.

Now that the associate socialist owner is directly involved by his own incomes in development of the social property of the entire people, he will have infinitely stronger inner motivations to react to any deviation from socialist awareness and to object strenuously to any disregard of society's general interests, from instances of corruption, favoritism, social parasitism or larceny to

It is difficult to imagine and in any case impossible to accept a situation where a worker who is doing an exemplary job and has deposited large sums as social shares in the formation of the fund for economic development with prospects of receiving additional incomes through exemplary fulfillment of the plan provisions would allow "hemorrhage" of material values, waste of time and other violations to persist alongside him because some individuals are trying to make private profits by violating the principle of equity. Under the present circumstances social responsibility is becoming a standard of conduct binding on every worker and the very prerequisite for remaining in a workers collective. Accordingly stimulation of the individual interest accompanied by intensive promotion of the general interest can reduce the lag of social awareness behind social existence (a situation often wrongly regarded as inevitable), so that the former will play an important part in accelerating socioeconomic progress and in developing and modernizing social property.

The fully developed socialist society that we are building marks a higher stage in the evolution of the new order, but it is still characterized by phenomena indicative of the heterogeneity of its socialist awareness. There are still some workers who are not equally aware of their active role in social development and do not fully realize that they must collaborate with all society in order to benefit more from their labor and that each one is what he is not because of himself but because of the others and the work of the entire nation. It is this situation that justifies the demands for a sustained political-educational effort among all workers. Although it is generally agreed that the positive has always appealed less than the negative to the individual's emotions, its high social value makes it an essential criterion for political-educational work. Perhaps the reason the advanced achievements of labor still fail at times to meet with the right response in the awareness is also because they have been presented formally and artificially in the political-educational programs with no attempt to explain the efforts that go into creative work, the consumption of which devours human energies. Actually, work without effort is inconceivable.

A radical change must also be made in analyzing the defects and combatting backward attitudes and behavior. Political-educational work must always concentrate on those problems, using the methods of discussion and intervention that can really penetrate the awareness and rally public opinion to an intolerant and hostile attitude toward all that conflicts with the aspiration to progress and innovation, toward any attitude of convenience or indifference, toward the attempt to substitute words for action, and especially toward any tendency to distort the facts or attempts to conceal nonfulfillments with misinformation or by "rounding off" actual progress on paper.

The daily experience of many industrial enterprises, worksites, agricultural units and institutes and institutions of various kinds bears out the fact that the many resources available to political-educational work (wall newspapers, fliers, radio amplifiers etc.) are not in regular use and that their use is often belated, long after the facts are known. The mission of ideological and political-educational work is to create the climate of high standards and responsibility that can arouse the awareness, channel it toward preventive action against defects, and bring out the better reasons for the sustained effort to gain a high economic effectiveness in all activities involving the national wealth and to protect and develop the social property of the entire people. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out so emphatically at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central

Committee of June 1982, that is the only way political-educational work can acquire the power to convince and influence the awareness that will make it an effective instrument for activating energies, for revolutionary, patriotic education, and for improving the activities in all sectors of socialist construction.

Fulfillment of every worker's social responsibility and his capacity as associate and cooperating owner, as well as application of the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration to a modern, dynamic and increasingly complex economy, heavily depend upon sound training and cultivation of the technical, economic and organizational talents of the workers. Culture is proving to be an important economic resource and an essential factor for progress in the present stage. In saying this we do not mean just the occupational training of every worker in his trade, since that goes without saying, but particularly the assimilation of sound economic knowledge that will open the way to every worker's effective and efficient participation in the actual administration and management of the enterprises' and institutions' affairs. This requires better economic training and mastery of a wide range of disciplines both in the economic, legal, statistical and accounting sciences and in social psychology and human relations. The operation has a very broad scope. A sound start must be made, primarily with the young generation in the schoolrooms, through a radical revision of the attitude of the educators toward the teaching and assimilation of the economic disciplines. It is a problem of social importance upon which the highly productive exercise of Romanian economic democratism to a great extent depends. No effective implementation of socialist democracy is conceivable without intensive instruction and general cultivation of all members of society, which are essential to thorough understanding of relationships both among people at work and between the state and its citizens.

Accordingly in the Romanian economy improvement of production relations is designed to consolidate the workers' equality as to the production means. To be sure in the production process based on social ownership (of the entire people or of the group) the workers receive incomes in remuneration or additional incomes that depend on the quantity and quality of their work as well as the extent of their participation in the fund for economic development. These differences will be reduced as Romanian socialist society advances to new stages. But they remain in the present stage and therefore the improvement of ownership relations plays an essential part in improving production relations and accelerating the process of social leveling.

5186

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## OPEN DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS URGED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 1 Apr 83 p 19

[Article by Dinu Sararu: "We Have Nothing To Hide"]

[Text] Again I am pleading for the free and unhindered discussion of all problems which concern us in our everyday life: particularly I am pleading for the categorical rejection of false vigilance, in whose name we are keeping secrets which the whole world knows, including the kindergarteners, or we are keeping the secrets concerning certain matters from the very ones who, nevertheless, are living these false secrets in their everyday life. Blamable acts occur in a certain school and they appear to be unprecedented even today and not only in that particular location; the whole school knows of these acts, the entire neighborhood knows of them, however, publicly, we are silent and, just like in the story of the man who laid a goose egg and then sat down to hatch it, the rumor flies like a snowball and, with the contribution of neighbors prodigious fantasy--intellectual, not physical--a true social nightmare occurs. Why do we need this false concern, allegedly, for the ozone purity of the atmosphere if actually it is precisely by this path, that of the "secret," that we arrive at serious pollution of that atmosphere? But scholarly research and psychological and sociological studies exist which violently refute this kind of ostrich-like policy--I, too, am making up a word--in a space in which even pollution of the language has become a matter on the agenda.

I, too, can pretend I do not know anything when my own children, the neighbors and my colleagues at work ask me and ask themselves what is true and what is not true in regard to a matter which has become a subject of concern for large collectives.

"What do you know about insects?" a peasant from Slatioara asks me and I say that I do not know anything.

"That's not possible," he doubts elegantly, but also somewhat dissatisfied with my lack of faith in him; "That is, fine, dear comrade, you, who are in the center and know everything, why don't you have faith in me? Don't I have to know what is truth and what is rumor?!"

Does this peasant have or not have the right to know about insects--he wants to say sects--because he is not the one who started the rumor? He has the



right, because now he has reached the point of taking his children to school just like the city dweller who is concerned about their crossing a very busy street.

Our society is a powerful society, with very powerful foundations, and it has been nearly 40 years since power was wrested from the bourgeoisie and we are the masters and the owners and the beneficiaries of this world, so how can we imagine that we are endangering this society's concrete foundation by pointing out that certain serious deviations have occurred in one place or another? This would mean that we are giving credit to the idea that we ourselves are not sure of the foundation of our building and we consider it so fragile that we believe it may sway if we call an antisocial act by its name.

Here comes a young cartoonist, born, raised, educated, formed and certified in socialist intellectual territory, as we say, in our system. As I was saying, here he comes, a young cartoonist, and he satirizes comic situations or by illustrating opportunism, political toadying, lack of responsibility, even stupidity; situations which occur here in socialism, too, because nobody gave or did not give us, the builders of socialism, either the recipe for infallibility or the means to sharply dispense with so many human defects or even stupidity. (The next time I propose to talk about the force of stupidity.) Immediately vigilance comes up and instead of being happy that one of our comrades with a spirit of observation is calling our attention to some errors, we go on the alert, we look at the poor cartoonist with pagan eyes which freeze the well, as Caragiale said, and we are ready to suspect even our own satisfaction.

"Sir, the boy is right, he did a good job," I tell somebody, happy that, at last, after so much highblown propaganda favoring satire, here comes a political cartoonist, one who, I want to say, is involved in social-political life as the party documents, which we have applauded so frenetically, require.

"Yes," says the friend to whom I have revealed my happiness, "yes, but it would be good for us to see where these cartoons are leading, what effect they have on the public and then what the public says about us and how they judge us."

"Which us?," I ask, "isn't the public us?" Are just we two the us? That is, the builders of the new society? Isn't the public also the builder of the new society? Doesn't the public judge itself at the same time? Where do we get the idea that we who are obliged to approve his presentation of cartoons are targets in this presentation? From where does this social elitism come? But he, the cartoonist, refers to the whole world, that is, to the entire public which is comprised of the builders of the new society and this public honestly recognizes that the artist is right. We must correct things which are going poorly and not get mad at the artist who is pointing them out. It is not the artist who commits the errors he is satirizing but it is us, so then let us be angry with ourselves and put our minds to the job of straightening things out. If the artist shows us what is good and what is not, this does not mean that this good or this evil does not exist. Why are we keeping secrets and what are we keeping secret?

Is it not more natural, more democratic, more honest, more in the spirit of our communist policy to call things by their rightful name with a clear view, with our mouths open, rather than always whispering among ourselves and when it is a matter of saying what we have to say, professing a false vigilance?

Who does not know that whispers are more powerful and more dangerous than a clear voice, than a hearty laugh, which is healthy?!

8071

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JUSTIFICATION FOR 'STRESS SLAUGHTERING' OF ANIMALS QUESTIONED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 1 Apr 83 p 19

[Article by Mihai Grozavu: "What Is Hidden Behind the Screen of 'Stress Slaughterings?'" ]

[Text] We are not proposing to give advice to those who know much better than we how animals should be raised and cared for. But we do have the right and duty to give our opinion, to bring the matter to the attention of the persons concerned whenever we discover acts which run counter to the good development of zootechny and which, in the end, prove injurious to our interests and to the interests of all.

So, about "stress slaughtering." It still happens--nobody is absurd--that animals are crippled out of the blue: they slip in a precipice, break a leg and their horns gore each other. Even to avoid any "accident" of this type is not too simple. In these situations, clearly, "stress slaughtering" is inevitable. Unfortunately, however, the abovementioned formula has become a strange screen for some factors in zootechny behind which attempts are made to hide all kinds of serious consequences of dishonesty, negligence, indolence, or ignorance. May we be forgiven the indiscretion of looking behind this screen, but the zootechny workers who attempt to "excuse" themselves through such procedures are making a blunder! Not long ago, the head of the zootechny farm of the Obreja Agricultural Production Cooperative, Caras-Severin County, Nicolae Caprioru--currently being investigated by the militia, along with others for taking sheep from the cooperative's flock--also resorted to the screen of "stress slaughtering." In fact, it was actually merely a matter of the "necessity," of substantially rounding off his personal flock of sheep through the use of public property, which resulted in losses of around 80,000 lei.

At the Corbita Agricultural Production Cooperative, Vrancea County, the "necessity" of slaughtering the 22 cattle was brought about by a reason which caused, among other things, big losses, a reason which should more seriously concern those responsible in this important sector of the economy--that is, negligence. Thus, the sudden illness of the 22 cattle and their slaughter were caused by chemical poisoning. Really, as the investigation established, Danut Gutan, a tractor driver who the day before had transported chemical fertilizers on the trucks, transported the fodder for the animals with the same trucks without removing the toxic substance which had been left after unloading.

Some 20 cattle were recently slaughtered "out of necessity" at the Silistraru Agricultural Production Cooperative, Braila County. Initially nobody knew what had happened to the poor animals who, shortly after having been fed freshly chopped fodder, began to crouch down, no longer were able to stand on their legs, thus showing that they were in danger. After they were slaughtered, in their stomachs and intestines pieces of wire and stones were discovered, which had caused fatal lesions. The specialists from other similar units had drawn attention in the press and on television to the consequences pieces of wire can have for animals: wire coming from bales of fodder, chopped without first recovering the metal and other foreign and dangerous bodies, but the people at the Silistraru Agricultural Production Cooperatives did not receive these "signals," it seems.

So, the screen of "stress slaughtering" has become too transparent to justify some very harmful mentalities.

8071

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BORBA VIEWS INTELLIGENTSIA'S ATTITUDE TO LCY

AU290945 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 83 p 2

[Hrvoje Istuk commentary: "A Subject of Discussion: Elite or Opponents"]

[Excerpts] The relationship between the LCY and the intelligentsia, both at present and in the future, has been the subject of discussion recently--it appears to have been somewhat singled out, that is particularly emphasized. There is nothing special or unusual about this. The topic is interesting, sometimes even to the point of being attractive.

Observations are put forward, and views and "standpoints" are suggested. There are lucid conclusions which fit into the course of seeking answers to the questions raised by our self-managing practice. There are also errors and mistakes. There is also nothing special or unusual about all this.

Loudspeaker Torture

What does make this topic special are the efforts, which cannot be ignored, to consider it from the viewpoint of the allegedly decisive role of the intelligentsia in these "fateful" times and situations. As though a solution for our problems can be found only by an elitist circles of people with diplomas and certificates. Whether these solutions fit into the direction of the LCY's struggle for the power and interests of the workers class will, however, depend on the fact of what this LC "offers" to the intelligentsia: talks, agreements, special social position, a "division" of power, and the like. Or will this elite be organized separately so that by writing various "contributions" of a journalistic-feuilletonist kind and of sensationalist character and various petitions, or by forming committees for the "defense" of artistic freedoms, courts of honor, by communicating with and even manipulating various international institutions, by relying on the "world democratic" public, or by some other pressure of this kind--in short, by a deafening system of loudspeaker torture of the public--ensure for itself a special privileged place in the system of our political and overall relations?

There is no "special place," however, and there cannot be any.

According to certain estimates and studies, a high percentage of the intelligentsia (some 95 percent) performs in its work process daily tasks and functions of an intellectual nature in material production, administration, the sociopolitical organizations, and the like. Only a small number, which is regrettable also for our conditions, a very modest number of intellectuals (some 5 percent) belongs to the so-called creative intelligentsia which works and is asserted in science, the arts, and similar tasks. Definitions about the social position and the prospects of this position which depend on the process of the workers class' liberation, or rather on the level of development of socialist self-managing relations in general, are valid for both kinds of intellectual....

### Negation of Classics

Since the early beginnings of the proletarian movement in our country, no broadly expressed issue of relations between the workers class and intelligentsia has existed. There were conflicts in this relationship when parts of intelligentsia neglected the historic interests of the workers class, confronted the workers class, and adopted a sectarian and opportunistic attitude. Some intellectuals deserted during the armed part of the revolution, while a number of intellectuals were unable to endure all the dilemmas and difficulties involved in building socialism, they had doubts, became demoralized, and faltered on this difficult road. Abandoning the LCY's basic political line, striving for a restoration of the capitalist or the statist model of society, the awareness of intellectuals was made more dependent on conservatism and on the influence of nonsocialist ideological currents, particularly at the time of actual critical moments of our development. As a rule, precisely at such times many reasons were found for raising the problem of relations between the LCY and the intelligentsia, and vacillation in a part of "our" intelligentsia went as far as to negate Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The LCY has never adopted a sectarian attitude to the intelligentsia, and is not doing so now--even when we are facing great difficulties, and even pressure. On the contrary, the role of Marxist intellectuals in the party is a very important factor of the LCY's strength and action capability. The fact that the intelligentsia's share in the LCY membership is considerably greater than its share in the population as a whole also speaks in favor of this, as well as the fact that intelligentsia is very much present both in the LC's leading organs and in other sociopolitical organizations and organs of authority. And in this way the intelligentsia, as "that social environment in which human thought most quickly reflects all the objective currents of social life" (E. Kardelj)--which under the conditions of socialist self-management in no case makes the intelligentsia a special social elite, privileged and having special interests--demonstrates that from being a historical ally of the workers class it is becoming more and more a component part of it. For this reason the intelligentsia's sociopolitical role in our country can be measured only by its ability to be a fighter in the organized front of the struggle for the social interests of the workers class.

IKONIC TELLS OF SERBIA'S DEBT, IMPORTS

AU021250 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 83 p 5

[Report on interview with Branislav Ikonic, president of the Executive Council of Serbia, granted to Dusan Drazinovic, BORBA editor—place and date not specified]

[Excerpt] One report is encouraging and causing pleasure in Serbia: The production of domestic raw materials and production materials is growing.

These and other tasks of the long-term economic stabilization program were discussed by Branislav Ikonic, president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia, with Dusan Drazic, editor of BORBA.

According to Branislav Ikonic, corporation [subjekti] in the territory of the SR of Serbia without the territories of the socialist autonomous provinces at the end of 1982 owed \$3,114,000,000 in hard currency to creditors abroad, and about \$300 million to countries with clearing accounts. Out of this amount, \$1,174,600,000 in hard currency and \$70 million in clearing account currency are due for repayment in 1983. However, the talks on financial cooperation that have just been held will make it possible to use new loans to repay the principal of certain debts. They also make it possible to postpone for 2 years the repayment of the principal of short-term lines of credit.

All the repayments of foreign debt in hard currencies by corporations in the territory of the SR of Serbia without the territories of the socialist autonomous provinces have been made regularly and on time so far. From January to May this year, a total of \$269 million, which fell due in this period for immediate repayment, as well as the short-term loans due, were paid in hard currency.

[Drazic] We are witnessing an occurrence, which was rather widespread in July, that work organizations do not like to apply for foreign loans.

[Ikonic] When it is a matter of production materials indispensable for production, we must bear in mind that some materials may be purchased in the country. As regards importing on credit, many producers are not creditworthy

as regards borrowing abroad, something that is assessed by their commercial banks. They are primarily producers of goods exclusively for the domestic market who do not earn foreign exchange and are not prepared to change over to exports quickly.

The fact that production machines are standing idle because of a shortage of production materials is certainly the worst possibility. This must be avoided at any cost, using all the possibilities of providing production materials through agreements with domestic producers and by pooling with exporters and importing production materials on credit, to the extent that an associated labor organization, alone or associated with others, is credit worthy, Branislav Ilonic says.

[Drazic] Little is being said about exports to the clearing area. Is anything charging here?

[Ikonic] The market of the countries which use the clearing account method of payments continues to be very important for us, considering that it offers us an opportunity to sell a number of our products, especially highly finished goods. It also makes it possible for us to obtain necessary goods, among them energy and other raw materials and production materials in short supply, which otherwise we would have to pay for in hard currency. The economy of the SR of Serbia without the territories of the socialist autonomous provinces exported to this territory goods worth \$1,256,000,000 in 1982.

[Drazic] There is belief in economic circles outside the republic that it was precisely the SR of Serbia that chiefly imported equipment recently, while others did it earlier.

[Ikonic] In 1982, the SR of Serbia without the territories of the socialist autonomous provinces had rather large imports of equipment because deliveries of equipment in that year for a number of large investment projects fell due, such as the Smederevo Metallurgical Combine, the Nikola Tesla Thermoelectric Powerplant of Obrenovac, Zorka of Sabac, Electronic Industry of Nis, Kolubaraazbest of Stragari, and others. All this equipment was contracted for much earlier. However, out of the total of \$551 million worth of equipment imported from the hard currency area in 1982, \$171 million was paid in cash and \$380 million was imported on credit, which will be repaid partly in 1983 and partly in following years. This year the cash payments for equipment imports were further radically reduced. In the first 6 months of this year, the imports of equipment amounted to \$167.5 million and carried out within the conditions set by the appropriate regulation adopted by the Federal Executive Council.

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## INCOME INEQUITIES, 'ILLEGAL ENRICHMENT' IN CROATIA

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 83 pp 14-16

[Article by Drago Loncar: "Who Skims the Cream"]

[Text] It seems that the rich people are earning even more while it is getting ever harder for the poor ones to make ends meet. The amounts involved in uncovered cases of plunder and other criminal activities, data about the highest personal incomes, and reports on profit clearly show that the wealthiest part of our population is not letting the inflation and the higher cost of living lower the standard of living it has enjoyed so far. On the other hand, there is an ever larger number of citizens at the lowest end of the income scale. A cause for special concern here is the fact that the number of employed skilled workers at the poverty level is increasing, if we take the personal monthly income of 12,000 dinars as the poverty borderline. In Yugoslavia today, about 2 out of 5 million of the employed are earning this amount or less, and analyses show that it is almost impossible to live on such an income. It is true that in Yugoslavia the average span of personal incomes is 1:3.5, but the fact is that in many situations personal incomes are the cause, on the one hand, of impoverishment and, on the other hand, of relative enrichment. Poor economic situation, comprising, in the first place, the lack of raw and other materials, has led to the decrease of production, productivity and income, and has brought many organizations of associated labor to such a situation that full-time workers can no longer earn even the guaranteed minimum monthly income of 8,000 dinars a month. There are disturbing facts that only in the SR Croatia last year about 5,000 workers received less than 5,000 dinars monthly, and more than 80,000 workers between 5,000 and 8,000 dinars for the full working time of 160 to 200 hours.

Life: The fact is that one can today live from one's own, socially recognized work both poorly and richly. Although it may be inadvisable to compare the earning of a worker who works on a machine in a shop that is not doing very well and the earning of the owner of a coffee house or some other worker who works independently, this ratio can show that the realized income can also be one of the ways of social disintegration of our society. It is true that there are few individuals who got rich with their work, and they should perhaps be pointed out as good examples, but if we compare last year's lowest and highest average earnings, we can say, with some exaggeration, that the results of work in SR Croatia in one example in this particular case showed the ratio of 1:120. Last year, namely, one selfemployed Zagreb mechanic who

services INA gas stations reported net income of 6,780,000 dinars; he paid 3.32 million income tax and pocketed 3,460,000 dinars. This is an income equivalent to the monthly earnings of 1,500 workers who get 5,000 dinars a month.

Without condemning that last year record maker, although one should ask why nobody from the social sector or from INA did not perform those services, the fact is that some individuals in our society, especially in the private sector, earn too much, while at the same time an ever larger number of the workers in the social sector enters the category of the socially jeopardized part of the population. Earnings in the private sector should not by any means prompt a campaign against private contractors and others who earn high incomes outside the social sector; on the contrary, they could be a good motive for the development of this sector which will be exceptionally significant in the future development of our society, but huge profits call attention to the fact that, as a society, we do not have the right measures for the development of small economy yet, nor are we ready to direct and control the work and the earnings outside the social sector.

In spite of the fact that personal income in the last 4 years gave a great contribution to the policy of stabilization, because in this period real personal income dropped by more than 20 percent, some examples of the highest individual personal incomes in the social sector indicate that all of us do not equally bear the burden of stabilization and poor management. For example, 2 years ago the highest monthly income in the soccer club "Osijek" was a little over 50,000 dinars, while last year in the same club a "worker" was paid 94,612 dinars in 1 month. This is almost the double, and it cannot be justified by greater productivity because this club passed the entire season at the bottom of the First League and is threatened to be dropped from it, which in economic terms would mean the liquidation of the collective or the switch from the professional to the amateur status of its main workers, i.e., soccer players. Among the recipients of the highest monthly salaries there is an employee of the Atlantska plovidba from Dubrovnik with 80,764 dinars, one from Grafomerkantile Zagreb with 98,154 dinars, from Rudjer Boskovic with 71,066 dinars, and of course, from the Zadar SAS with 86,847 dinars.

Conclusion: In the struggle for higher production and productivity, which are the basic preconditions for the stabilization, we, as a society, must strive to reward the work according to its results. This may lead to even greater differences between incomes than the present average of 1:3.5, but we must not forget the fact that an ever greater part of the population is socially threatened. According to the latest data of the Federal Bureau of Statistics, retail prices in May rose 2.6 percent in relation to the April prices, and the total price increase for the first 5 months of this year amounts to 14.8 percent. In relation to May 1982, the present prices are 34.3 percent higher. On the other hand, net personal income in the first 4 months in relation to the same months last year rose by only 24 percent, and the real decrease of personal incomes is accelerating.

When retail prices rise faster than personal income, the poor suffer most. For example, 90 percent of the total increase of the cost of living in

January was caused by the increase of food prices, but workers with low income spend more than 60 percent of their income on food, while this percentage progressively decreases in the case of the people with high salaries and incomes. It could be said, in a simplified way, that inflation, i.e. price increase, does not make the wealthy less opulent, although it may seem logical from the economic standpoint, but that, on the contrary, the owners of real estate, precious metals and foreign currency earn money by the simple fact of processing such items. On the other hand, those two-fifths of the Yugoslav workers who last year earned less than 12,000 dinars a month experience each new price rise as a direct blow to their standard of living which has been already trimmed by the steady decline of real income in the last 4 years.

At the top of this social ladder of the Yugoslav society there is a class of wealthy people, called billionaires, on the basis of the amount of 1 billion of old dinars, although this concept no longer reflects the true situation or a significant borderline because a truly wealthy Yugoslav possesses today just in his hard currency or dinar account, or in real estate, the equivalent value of 10 million new dinars. There are no exact figures about the number of billionaires in the country, and the question whether there are 7,000 of them, which was put in the SFRY Assembly at the beginning of the year, raised a lot of dust. In answer to this question, it was said that we do not have a service that could exactly establish the number of such people. But even if such a service existed (efforts are being made in this direction), what it could find would represent only the tip of the iceberg; the billionaires whom "nobody knows," although all of us know them in our circles, represent the submerged part of the iceberg, and here too the ratio may well be 1:9. These invisible ways of amassing wealth occasionally show up in the criminal chronicle of the press, as it has lately happened with the agrobusiness, i.e. agrobillionaires.

**Safe Prescriptions:** In a recent summary of the results of the action of combating agrobusiness in the Parliamentary Commission for Social Control, it was revealed that public prosecutors' offices last year received 77 informations against 126 persons because of abuses in the agrobusiness. No less than 26 of these persons had management positions in their enterprises, and 2 held prominent positions in socio-political organizations and communities. Indictment has been made in 53 cases so far, and among the denounced persons there are 49 farmers, 21 agronomers, 5 warehousemen, and several cashiers, rangers, technologists, pensioners, instructors, including driving instructors, and one of each of the following professions: private caterer, student, photographer, geodesist, purchase manager, work safety specialist, salesman, technician, driver, veterinarian and physician.

The Financial Service of Croatia tried to give in one of its reports an approximate estimate of where and how the illegal wealth is created, just pointing out the problem but not being able to solve it. Besides agrobusiness, some individuals in Slavonia and Baranja make money also by reselling cattle. In the territory of Dalmatia, the tested methods of enrichment are the trade in nationalized real estate (the case of Split), illegal renting of vacation houses, leasing family houses to tourist organizations or vacation resorts at a high rent, which is then covered by fictitious expenses for

electricity, water or adaptation. Improper weighing, keeping the merchandise until the price rises, resale of tenant's rights, renting social apartments to subrenters are old and tested methods of enrichment. Accepting bribes, especially in health services, has become an almost customary practice, and private property of some renowned physicians is estimated today in tens of millions of dinars. It certainly has not been acquired in its entirety from legal sources of income.

Commissions for the investigation of the origin of property, which 8 years ago with enthusiasm and volunteer work declared war to illegal wealth, have become today a dead letter and their task has been taken over by income administration in socio-political communities. In SR Croatia, the commissions have in this period taken away from wealthy people about 150 million dinars. A single wealthy man of somewhat higher caliber could probably stand the loss of such an amount.

Speaking of enrichment, we could point out three problems that we as a society have to solve. This is, in the first place, a considerably better, or stricter financial and broader social control of the acquisition of wealth, as well as the question of royalties and a completely new tax policy. An example from Zagreb shows best what the financial control is like. In this city there are 1,236 taxpayers who take cash for their services or merchandise (butchers, caterers, pastry cooks, flower vendors), and who have to keep evidence of their transactions by means of cash registers. City inspectors made 2,037 controls of such businesses last year and found out that in 548 cases such taxpayers had not evidenced the transactions. Has any of them suffered anything besides paying a symbolic fine?

Disintegration: The aim of the new tax policy that was announced last year before the new tax law was proclaimed, was that tax should be paid according to the wealth of the citizens. However, in its final form, the law has missed this goal of the tax policy. Kraigher's stabilization program foresees novelties in the tax policy, especially in the taxing of labor in the social sector. Royalties are also an object of the attack because it is well known that many individuals have become rich without doing work at all, but only taking advantage of the location, traffic, and nature royalties as well as of a number of other royalties. In this way social investments were used as private income and they became billionaires.

Let us return again to the poor people and to those who are going to become poor. We are aware that for the last few years their standard has had to fall, because in the preceding years we lived above our possibilities and accumulated a huge foreign debt. But what happened? The analysis of workers' wages in various activities shows that the largest number of workers in industry, where there is the highest number of skilled and highly skilled workers, received from 8,000 to 12,000 a month. This means that the segment of the employed labor in Yugoslavia about which all of us keep saying that it offers the best chance of taking us out of the present economic impasse, receives wages which are hardly sufficient for the normal existence. Thus, a skilled or highly skilled worker at a machine receives today less than the average income and is forced to seek additional income outside his working



hours. The existing income does not stimulate him to perform at his best because his work does not provide him even with the average Yugoslav income. By means of social agreement about income, and especially that part of it which demands a better valuation of the productive and creative work, some shifts have been made in some collectives, but the necessary turnaround in the distribution of personal income to the bearers of production, and thus of stabilization, has not taken place yet.

The disintegration of our society, in which the wealthy people are becoming even wealthier and the poor ones still poorer, is a negative trend also because this disintegration is not based on work. In fact, it could be said that the opposite is the case, with regard to the example of skilled industrial workers who are becoming poorer and poorer, and with regard to those who enrich themselves in our society. The consequences of such disintegration, if it is continued, will have an immediate influence on the realization of the essential goals of the policy of economic stabilization, and for this reason it is necessary to stop this negative trend. Nobody can assert that there are no measures for the prevention of illegal enrichment and all those enrichments which are not based on work, or that there is no possibility to stop the impoverishment of those workers who are the mainstay of the production--the industrial workers. In the first place, it is necessary to continue even more vigorously all the actions which our society is undertaking against the various forms of illegal enrichment, starting with the agrobusiness, the abuse of royalties, black market, etc. In the case of personal income, it is necessary to lead the action in two directions. Since we cannot apply social measures to all the employed and unemployed persons who are having a hard time today, we have to separate those who have to be helped by means of social measures from those who, under the pretext of poor economic conditions, earn less than they should. The struggle against the uniformity of wages has today become, in fact, the struggle for the productive worker, who is progressing on the social scale, but who still has not come to the level, at least as far as income is concerned, which he deserves and must have.

12455

CSO: 2800/373

VOJVODINA GOVERNMENT VIEWS OIL PRODUCTION, NEEDS

AU021646 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 83 p 3

[B. Gulan report]

[Summary] Novi Sad, 27 Jul—The completed oil refineries in the country, together with the oil refineries in Bosanski Brod and Novi Sad now under construction, will be quite sufficient to cover all the country's needs for oil products until the end of the century. At the end of the year, the country's oil refinery capacities will total 28.5 million tons, while in 1990, they will be 30.9 million tons, and will remain at this level until the year 2000.

As was stressed at today's session of the Vojvodina Executive Council, Vojvodina oil refinery capacities at the end of next year will total 8.5 million tons, although only 57.7 percent of capacity will be used. At the session it was said that a shortage of crude oil is the reason for low utilization of oil refineries. This year, Yugoslavia intends to import 11 million tons of crude oil and produce another 4.3 million tons domestically. Of these quantities, the Naftagas oil refineries in Novi Sad and Pancevo should receive 4.52 million tons of crude oil.

As regards further prospecting, it is planned that the Naftagas work organizations should continue with oil prospecting in the country and in Angola and Algeria. So far, significant oil deposits have been discovered in the Banat and Backa regions of Vojvodina, where some 1.1 million tons of crude oil is produced.

Oil prospecting is currently being carried out in Montenegro, while talks are being held on prospecting in Kosovo.

As regards oil prospecting abroad, according to current results, it is expected that a total of 4.1 million tons of crude oil will be produced annually in Angola in 1988, of which Yugoslavia should obtain 256,000 tons, of which the Naftagas work organization will obtain 128,000 tons.

CSO: 2800/425

## NO ACCORD ON TITOGRAĐ-SHKODER RAILROAD FUNDS

AU031151 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 83 p 3

[J. Kesic report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Jul—Today's session of the Committee for Finance can be said to have passed in disagreement (at least until 1500, because it continued to work even after that). The delegates did not manage to reach agreement on an amendment to the resolution for this year and left the matter for tomorrow morning. The chamber of republics and provinces should adopt the amendment at their session tomorrow.

## Money for Railroad Late

Another document to be adopted by the delegates of the Committee for Finance today is an amendment to the law on financing the Titograd-Shkoder railroad. However, agreement on it was postponed because the Croatian Assembly failed to discuss this document. The delegate of Slovenia said that their assembly had this on the agenda but had failed to adopt it.

The existing law envisages the republics and provinces to provide 1.1 billion dinars for the construction of our section of this railroad; however, since the expenses have doubled in the meantime the sum which should be provided now amounts to 2.2 billion dinars because of the increased costs in 1982. According to the new calculations, Bosnia-Hercegovina should provide 224 million dinars, Macedonia 97, Slovenia 271, Serbia 423, Croatia 463, Montenegro 37, Vojvodina 203, and Kosovo 42 million dinars. But this is not the final calculation either because the expenses for 1983 are not yet known.

Dragoljub Jakic, delegate from Montenegro, said that every delay creates even greater difficulties. He noted that some republics and provinces fail to fulfill their obligations according to existing law. For instance, Slovenia and Vojvodina still have not paid 350 million dinars from last year, and according to some calculations republics and provinces owe about 370 million dinars for this year. Warning that these delays may at any time lead to stopping the construction of the railroad, Jaksic proposed that the Federal Executive Council adopt a conclusion which would oblige the republics and provinces to fulfill their obligations on time.

CSO: 2800/425

## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

DINAR LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS--Belgrade, 3 Aug (TANJUG)--At a meeting held in the National Bank of Yugoslavia between representatives of commercial banks authorized to conduct business with foreign countries and representatives from the republican and provincial national banks, an examination was carried out of current tasks concerning the banks' dinar and foreign exchange liquidity and of measures directly aimed at supporting exports and promoting the current financing of reproduction. The view was expressed at the meeting that there are serious difficulties regarding dinar liquidity, and measures were agreed to mitigate these. It was also noted that the foreign exchange liquidity of the authorized banks has been improved, with the result that the new law on payments in convertible foreign currencies was being implemented. The current foreign exchange liquidity and the expected foreign exchange inflow will result in all current payments being successfully carried out in August. The meeting was chaired by National Bank of Yugoslavia Governor Radovan Makic and attended by: Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; Dragutin Grupkovic, deputy federal secretary for finance; and Dr Milovan Milutinovic, general secretary of the Association of Banks. [Text] [LD031458 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 3 Aug 83]

CROATIAN ECONOMIC RESULTS NOTED--Zagreb, 4 Aug (TANJUG)--Owing to the shortage of foreign exchange and raw and reproduction materials, industrial production in the Socialist Republic of Croatia in the first half of 1983 was 3.7 percent lower than in the same period last year. A total of 22 industrial branches, which account for 74 percent of the republic's total industrial production, recorded a negative rate of growth. A total of 62.4 billion dinars' worth of goods were exported during the same period. This is 7.2 less than in the same period of 1982. An encouraging fact is that exports to the developed countries of the West rose by 23 percent. Imports were reduced by 30 percent and amounted to 71.1 billion dinars. The trade balance deficit was reduced by as much as 75 percent, and 87.6 percent of the imports were covered by exports. Retail prices in the first half of the year rose by 34.1 percent, manufacturers' prices of industrial products by 20.3 percent and the cost of living by nearly 35 percent. The highest increase was in the prices of agricultural produce, which rose by 39.9 percent in the first 5 months of the year as compared with the same period of 1982. The number of jobs rose by only 1.2 percent in the first half of the year as compared with the first half of 1982. [Text] [LD041423 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 4 Aug 83]

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